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M E M O R I A L S

A N D

L E T T E R S

R E L A T I N G T O T H E

H I S T O R Y O F B R I T A I N

I N T H E

R E I G N

O F

J A M E S T H E F I R S T.

by Mr David Dalrymple

P U B L I S H E D F R O M T H E O R I G I N A L S.

T H E S E C O N D E D I T I O N,

C O R R E C T E D A N D E N L A R G E D.

G L A S G O W:

P R I N T E D B Y R O B E R T A N D A N D R E W F O U L I S,

P R I N T E R S T O T H E U N I V E R S I T Y,

M.DCC.LXVI.



TO
PHILIP YORKE,
EARL HARDWICKE,
LEARNED IN BRITISH HISTORY,
THE EDITOR
INSCRIBES THIS COLLECTION.



P R E F A C E.

THE publishers of such collections, as that which is here offered to the public, are generally considered as dull tasteless men, who seek no farther merit in a paper than that of being old or scarcely legible: they have, however, their pretensions to literary fame; and, indeed, those pretensions are so moderate, that it is hard to reject them altogether.

To invention, to accuracy of composition, or to elegance in style, they can offer no claim; they are not historians, they only prepare materials for history: they chuse out blocks from the quarry, and having, with much patience and toil, brought them above ground, they leave them there to be polished and arranged by more able artists.

A French writer gave thanks to Heaven for the makers of dictionaries: with like gratitude, it would seem, that historians ought to speak of those "hewers of wood and drawers of water," the compilers of original papers.

When indeed writers, like Varillas, Raguenet, and Leti, deliberately impose upon the world by the recital of what never happened; when they display their eloquence by celebrating actions which their heroes did not perform; and their political knowledge, by tracing out the causes of imaginary events; such writers will have little occasion for the services of the humble compiler; and if ever they should think fit to appeal to original papers, they can, as Varillas did, forge authorities as well as facts.

“ Mais que faire de ces paperasses ? ”
said Pere Daniel, when all the treasures of the French King's library were laid open to his view. Historians far superior to Pere Daniel, have entertained sentiments widely different. Strype, Anderson, Keith, and many other dull men, furnished materials to Robertson: even a D'Alembert could profit by the tasteless labours of an Arkenholtz, the inanimate biographer of the extravagant Christina.

There are who affect to say, that from “ the letters and memorials concerning the affairs of Britain,” which still remain in manuscript, nothing new nor curious can be discovered. The truth of this assertion may be disputed, even with regard to the aera of Queen Elisabeth, but when applied to that of her successors, the assertion

is absolutely erroneous. How little, for example, is known of the negotiations between Secretary Cecil and King James, before his accession to the throne of England? and how imperfect are all the printed accounts of the Spanish match? Yet the learned in British history well know that those secret and interesting transactions may be explained from papers hitherto unpublished.

In the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh, many volumes of memorials and letters, relating to the history of Britain during the seventeenth century, are preserved: most of them appear to have been collected by Sir James Balfour of Kincaid, Lion King at Arms in the reign of Charles I. His assiduity, in amassing materials for the history of that period, has been greater than his

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judgment in selecting them; for, with some papers interesting and useful, many others equally tedious and un-instructive, are blended.

A cursory perusal of this bulky collection induced me to believe, that from it some letters and memorials might be chosen, tending at once to display the genius of that age, and to throw new lights upon many characters distinguished in history.

With this view I prepared a collection of "memorials and letters," and submitted it to the public; sensible, however, that works of this nature generally meet with few readers, and with little approbation, I took care that mine should neither offend by its bulk, nor by the largeness of the impression.

The collection was received with more approbation than I expected:

it is now republished with considerable additions, partly transcribed from Sir James Balfour's papers, partly communicated to me by my friends. The letters from Lord Bacon, which were inserted in the former edition, are not reprinted, as they have found a place in the late edition of his works. Some proceedings of the Privy Council in Scotland, concerning one Rigg, are also omitted, as being imperfect and affording little entertainment to the reader.

They who happen to know my political notions, without knowing my disposition, may suppose that this collection is intended as a satyr on King James and his ministers: but it will be remembered that I only transcribe what others have written. Sure I am that I feel infinitely more pleasure in recording the amiable sen-

sibility and maternal affection of the Dutchess of Lennox, than in recording the little arts and servile adulation of courtiers, or the petulant familiarity of an overgrown favourite.

It is probable that some more volumes, formed upon the same plan, may be hereafter offered to the public. Most of the considerable families in Scotland are possessed of original letters, which may tend to illustrate the history of Britain during the seventeenth century: if persons of distinction, possessed of such letters, approve of my plan, and are willing to contribute their aid for its accomplishment, the favour will be gratefully acknowledged.

DAV. DALRYMPLE.

PREFACE

It is a great pleasure to me to have the opportunity of presenting to the public a volume which contains a selection of the most valuable and interesting documents which have been preserved in the archives of the Government of the United States. The documents are arranged in chronological order, and are accompanied by a full and complete index. The volume is intended to be a valuable addition to the collection of documents which are now in the possession of the Government, and to be a valuable aid to the study of the history of the United States.

DAVID D. THURMAN

SIR

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SIR THOMAS HAMILTON, KING'S ADVOCATE,

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he himself will undertake to confute them all;—in the end, neither his recantation, nor his professions of orthodoxy, proved satisfactory to the fathers of the Inquisition, p. 145.

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DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

TO

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DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

TO

KING JAMES,

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DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

TO

KING JAMES,

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DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

TO

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DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

TO

KING JAMES,

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DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

TO

KING JAMES,

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DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

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DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

TO

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TO

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TO

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TO

Q U E E N A N N E O F D E N M A R K,

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wife, and the mother of his children;—but that it is the same thing to him, whether she be a king's or a cook's daughter;—desires her not to give credit to flattering sycophants, who endeavour to represent the King's esteem of a faithful servant, as inconsistent with his regard to her, p. 185.

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EARL OF NORTHAMPTON

TO

CARRE, EARL OF SOMERSET,

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SIR THOMAS HAMILTON,

KING's ADVOCATE,

TO

K I N G J A M E S.

MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN,

MY conceived fear, that my silence could not find out any lawful excuse, if I should not advertise your Majesty of the progress and event of the criminal pursuit of Mess. John Forbes, Welch, and others, their complices, before your Majesty's Justice, for their treasonable declining your Majesty and your secret council's judgment, makes me bold to write in that matter; which, as well in respect of a most high point and large part of your Majesty's authority royal brought in question by the ignorant and inflexible obstinacy of these defenders, as in regard of the most careful expectation of a great part of your Highness's subjects, in this your kingdom, over-doubtfully [too doubtfully] distracted, during the uncertain event thereof, partly by superstitious, and partly by feigned zeal to their profession, and affection to their persons for their profession's sake; being of so high and dangerous consequence, as the miscarrying thereof might have exceded a great part of your Majesty's subjects from your Majesty's jurisdiction and obedience in matters of doctrine and discipline, and all things which they should have pleased to affirm to be of that nature, and therewith

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have given them occasion, and as it were lawful liberty, or liberty by your Majesty's own laws and sentences, to have maintained that liberty once purchased, and daily to have encreased the same, to the manifest peril, not only of further impairing, but with time, of utter subversion of your royal power within this kingdom. God having now brought it to that good end, that, after langum, [tedious,] difficil, and most contentious travels, they are convicted by affize of that treasonable declinator. I should omit as necessary a point of my duty, as if I had not replied to their most probable alledgeances, if I should conceal from your Majesty, that the first and greatest praise of this good success should be given to your Majesty's self, for foreseeing this matter to be of such difficulty and danger, as it required the particular direction of your Majesty's own most excellent wisdom, by the report and prosecution of my Lord of Dunbar, who, I am assured, in all his life was never so sollicitous for the event of the trial of other men's lives; for, at his here-coming, finding that matter full, not only of foreseen, but also of unexpected difficulties, his care and diligence therein has been so assiduous, wise, and provident, that having made secret choice of this time and place (which by effect has proved most proper) and so vively [lively] expressed to your Majesty's Justice, Justice-Clerk, and other members of that court, your Majesty's care of the maintenance of your royal power, brought in question by that process, with the undoubted favours which they

might expect by doing their duty, and most certain disgrace and punishment, if, in their default, any thing should miscarry; He proceeded thereafter to the preparation of sufficient forces able to execute all the lawful commandments of your Majesty's council, in your service; and, for that purpose, having brought with him to this town a very great number of honourable barons and gentlemen, of good rank and worth, of his kindred and friendship; finding, beside other great impediments, the chief peril to consist in the want of an honest assize, who, without respect of popular favours, report, threatnings, or imprecations, would serve God and your Majesty in a good conscience; for known default of constancy and good affection in others, he was compelled to cause his own particular and private kinsmen and friends to make the most part of the assize, who being admitted upon the same, if he had not dealt in that point but [without] scrupulosity or ceremony to resolve them of the wonderful doubt, wherein, by many means, chiefly by the thundering imprecations of the pannel, [persons arraigned,] and contentious resistance of their own associate assizers, they were casten, that whole purpose had failed, to our infinite grief, and your Majesty's over-great prejudice. For the good success whereof I shall ever thank God, and ever pray him and your Majesty, to put us to as few essays in the like causes as may possibly stand with the weal of your Majesty's service, in respect of the scarcity of skilled and well-affect-ed assizers in these causes; for if my Lord of Dun

4 SIR TH. HAMILTON to K. JAMES.

bar had wanted your Majesty's most provident directions, or if we had been destitute of his wife and infinitely sollicitous diligence and action in this purpose, in all men's judgments it had losed, wherein our misluck could never have found any excuse, which might either have given satisfaction to your Majesty, or contentment to our own minds, albeit our consciences and actions did bear us record, that we served with most faithful affections, and careful diligence. But now we have to thank God that it is well ended. And I must humbly crave your Majesty's pardon for my boldness and over-long letter, which shall be always short in comparison of my long and endless prayers to God for your Majesty's health, content, and long happy life. At Lithgow, the 11th January, 1606.

Your Sacred Majesty's

most humble and faithful servitor,

TH. HAMILTON.*

* This letter gives a more lively idea of those times, than an hundred Chronicles can do. We see here the prime minister, in order to obtain a sentence agreeable to the King, address the judges with promises and threats, pack the jury, and then deal with them *without scruple or ceremony*. It is also evident that the King's advocate disliked the proceedings as inpolitic and odious, but that he had not resolution to oppose them. The detail of this trial, and of its consequences, may be found in Spotiswood and Calderwood.

L O R D F L E M I N G

T O

K I N G J A M E S.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

I RECEIVED your Majesty's letter directed to me by the Bishop of the Isles, bearing, that some reports have been made of my scrupulous judgment in this intended erection of Bishops, and willing me to concur with all my power in the furtherance of that service, as being most necessary for your Highnesses obedience in this kingdom, and the preservation of the purity of religion in the same: Whereanent [concerning which,] please your sacred Majesty, I am so far from conceiving any scruple, in that or any other work your Highness is pleased to intend, that, once knowing the same to be your Majesty's pleasure, I acquiesce: persuading myself it must be agreeable both to godliness and equity; for of your Highnesses zeal to the advancement of both, we have all sufficient experience; and if any make scruple of your Majesty's proceedings, their fault, in my opinion, is not to be excused. I humbly, therefore, entreat your Majesty to conceit of me as an subject resolved to serve and follow your Highness in whatsoever I shall be commanded, and will then esteem myself happy, when your Majesty shall find me in any sort worthy of favour or employment, wherein others may go beyond me in skill and ability,

but in affection I cannot cede to any. Fearing to offend your Majesty by longer letter, I remit all, which else I would say, to the bearer his sufficiency, whom I know your Highness will credit, and now, kissing your Majesty's hands in humble sort, I take my leave.

Your Majesty's most humble

and obedient subject and servant,

FLEMING.*

* Created Earl of Wigtoun, 19th March, 1606.

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THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF SCOTLAND

TO

KING JAMES.

PLEASE YOUR MOST SACRED MAJESTY,

WE your most humble and loyally affected servants, having heard some reproachful speeches, uttered in the lower house, by some evil-disposed spirits, to the dishonour of this your Majesty's antient kingdom, and that only your Majesty had stand [stood] to our defence; we have, in all humility, by these presents, presumed to take notice of the same, and to yield your Majesty most humble and hearty thanks, not having committed any thing against that state deserving such injuries, and far less worthy of so great favour, as it has pleased your gracious Majesty to vouchsafe, by vindicating us from their opprobrious calumnies. It is no little grief to us till [to] hear, what just causes of discontentment are ministred to your Majesty at all these meetings for enforcing that union so greatly hated by them, and so little affected by us, except in that religious obedience we ought to your Majesty, not to dislike any thing that likes your Highness. And if it may please your sacred Majesty, without offence, to hear our apology, in defence of the honour of our country, we doubt not to make it known, by the true records of bygone times, since this island has been first inhabited, that in no point of sincere Christia-

nity to God, loyal obedience till [to] our princes, inviolate friendship with our confederates, and unconquered liberty of our estate, we have never been inferior to them; and, in the very subject of the union, whereat they pretend so many frivolous exceptions, that their advantage shall be every way greater nor [than] ours. We would be sorry to be authors of distracting that, which your princely wisdom, and fatherly care, has happily contracted, having so deeply taken in heart, so to unite these two kingdoms, joined by nature, but by affection altogether distant*, as no marks of diversity betwixt them till [to] the after coming ages should appear. Yet we are persuaded, that our just defence against these false imputations laid upon all the nation, not sparing your sacred Majesty, nor your most royal progeny, nor your most worthy ancestors of a hundred and six kings†, lineally descending of one stock, cannot but, in your Majesty's accustomed justice, receive at your hands a favourable censure; and if, in any meeting, either private or public, whereof we had many about that subject, such audience was ever

* The Editor *still* repeats what he said in the former edition of these letters—"May we not hope that this "island is now joined in affection, as well as by nature, "under the government of GEORGE THE BRITON?"

† Some critics have attempted to strike forty off the list; however, even without these forty, there are still enough remaining for the honour and felicity of Scotland.

given till [to] any speech, either derogating to the honour of that state, or dissuading the union, however there be among us, not a few of the best sort, who are as alien from it as any of the lower house, and has more just cause to be discontented with so easy obliterating of bygone wrongs, let it be till [to] us a disloyal part against your Majesty, and unworthy of true friendship against our neighbours; but, contrarywise, such has been the diligent care of your ministry here, upon whom your Majesty is pleased to repose the weight of your affairs, that knowing your Majesty's earnest disposition to perfect their union, in all the conferences, they have laboured to extol all the apparent benefits we might receive thereby, and to conceal and suppress the true ills: in doing whereof, although we have reported small thanks of these, who so liberally have talked of us, or those who in so patient hearing did clearly manifest their allowance of all was spoken; yet your Majesty's princely resenting our wrong, and urging the trial and punishing thereof, is more nor [than] sufficient recompence, if our lives and all our fortunes should be endangered in any thing might yield your Majesty satisfaction; and if, under your Majesty's correction, to the which we always submit ourselves, your Majesty would be pleased to desist from any further moving of this union, and make known to the estate, that the whole inhabitants of the isle are your Majesty's subjects, and that in all your services and employments, you will indifferently prefer those, whom your Majesty, in your

10 THE PRIVY COUNCIL to K. JAMES,

wisdom, shall find most capable: that your Majesty will vouchsafe to grace us with your residence among us sometimes, and seclude us from no favour your Majesty, in your royal prerogative, may give us, and whereof we shall render ourselves, by our careful and loyal deserving, to prove worthy, we doubt not but they shall require at your Majesty's hands, that which, by this enforced dealing, they would appear to refuse. But this, and all other things tending to the liberty and honour of this your Majesty's antient kingdom, we remit to your Majesty's most rare and princely wisdom, humbly requesting your Majesty to take in good part this our most humble thanks, having nothing else to offer your Majesty for all your undeserved favours, but our most loyal hearts, which shall never debord from the smallest of your Majesty's thoughts. Thus, humbly craving pardon of our presumption, we pray God to grant your Majesty, after a long and happy reign, eternal felicity. From your Majesty's burgh of Edinburgh, the 3d of March, 1607.

Your Majesty's most humble

and obedient subjects,

MONTROSE.

LOTHIAN.

DUMFERMLINE Cancell.

J. BALMERINO.

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COUNTESS OF DORSET

TO

KING JAMES.

MOST BLESSED KING,

CHRIST himself was not offended with the women that fought him; and my trust is, he directs me still to your Majesty, being sure I have neither broken the laws of God to my husband, nor the laws of your kingdom, neither offended you in deed, word, or thought; and therefore, as I will assuredly trust in the Almighty, I shall never have cause to come to you for mercy, so will I never leave suing unto you for justice, knowing you are the kings of the earth, to do all rights for the King of heaven,

I humbly beseech you, give me leave to speak with you, that I may not be condemned before I answer for myself; for it remains no small grief to my heart, that your Majesty should tell me I was mad, being most assured that your Majesty's heart could not be so much hardened, if you heard not many more false tales against me than that. But if my importunities may offend, I beseech you, lay the blame upon the extreme wrongs and miseries I have endured, that have now lived three quarters of a year without any allowance for food to suffice nature. I have ten times (before and since my Lord Treasurer's death) both sent, written, and gone myself to my husband, but can

13 COUNTESS OF DORSET TO K. JAMES.

neither speak with him, nor be permitted to come within his doors; but only his servants answering me out of a window, that I must not come in.

My humble desires are but these, that my cause may be heard, and my faults known; that if I have not truly deserved those scandals, wrongs, and infamies I have endured (which will ever remain upon me and my posterity) I may have justice, and either to go home to my husband, upon honourable terms, free from dangers, or else to have mine own poor fortunes, with such further allowance as may maintain these honours, your Majesty was the ground of, and God now hath cast upon me, together with the securing of my estate I brought, which (by a purchase of the late Lord Treasurer's) stands endangered; and I have sued to have redress thereof, and, as yet, have received no justice.

Your Majesty promised to hear me; and the word of a king is just; and I will hold the same as an inheritance to my soul; for which I will yield my life, with all duties, humbly, at your Majesty's feet,

AN. DORSET.*

* This letter seems to have been written by Anne Spencer, married first to Henry Lord Compton, afterwards to Robert Earl of Dorset. Collins, in his pedigree of Sackville, calls her a lady of wit and spirit. This letter must have been written in 1608, the only year in which Robert was Earl.

SIR PATRICK YOUNG

TO

KING JAMES.

PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

I DELIVERED this day your Majesty's books, the one in Latin, and the other in English, with your Majesty's arms upon them, to my Lord of York, as your Majesty commanded me, who received the same with all humility, *flexis genibus deosculando*, accounting this not the smallest benefit of so great and many he hath received from your Majesty before; that your Majesty's own books, dedicated by the author to most mighty monarchs, kings, and free princes only, and sent to them by several messengers from your Majesty, should also be expressly sent to him, your Majesty's mean subject and orator, and so Βασιλικὸν δῶρον in deed, by one whose service your Majesty had used long ago to fundry kings and princes over seas: he promiseth he shall religiously keep them as the apple of his eye, so long as he liveth, and read them over and over again, as diligently, as they deserve worthily, as well for the author's sake as for the matter, *et tractandi modum inimitabilem*: and that he hath nothing to render to your Majesty but most humble thanks, and such service as he is able to do, so long as he liveth, with his hearty prayers to God Almighty for your Majesty's long and prosperous reign, whereunto I join mine from the

14 SIR PATRICK YOUNG TO K. JAMES.

bottom of my heart ; and so, in my Lord of York's name, and in my own, most humbly kissing your Majesty's royal hands, I take my leave. From York this 19th of June, 1609, which was your Majesty's most blessed birth-day 43 years ago.
 ' Quem diem nos hic celebravimus alacres, non
 ' sine regio poculo in orbem, ut moris est, impi-
 ' gre propinato atque exhausto.'

Your Majesty's most humble,

faithful, and obedient oldest servant.*

SIR,

I have begged this inclosed from my Lord of York, which, albeit *in re tenui*, I thought not unworthy of your Majesty's reading. ' Quod
 ' ad me attinet, in reditu, (si modo Deus mihi re-
 ' dire concefferit) senectuti meae ingruenti tran-
 ' quillum portum expecto, tum conjugi, liberis et
 ' familiae; ne perpetuo peregrinari, et incertis se-
 ' dibus vagari cogar.'

* Sir Patrick Young of Auldbar, was employed, by King James, in various embassies beyond seas. He was the father of the celebrated PATRICIUS JUNIUS.

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SIR THOMAS HAMILTON,
 KING'S ADVOCATE,
 TO
 KING JAMES.

PLEASE YOUR SACRED MAJESTY,

ACKNOWLEDGING myself bound, in duty, to render account to your Majesty of the services properly belonging and committed to my charge, I have taken the boldness to write of our progress in the forfeitures intented against the Lord Maxwell*, and the memory of Restalrig, before the Lords of Articles: our first proceeding was against the Lord Maxwell, wherein, albeit there were no compearance for the defender, yet some of the Lords of Articles kything [appearing] more scrupulous and precise in sundry points of that process nor [than] we did foresee or suspect, and hearing thereafter, that sundry of that number had preconceived hard opinions of Restalrig's process, the knowledge thereof, which wrought fear and mistrust in the minds of divers your Majesty's well affected servants, did breed in the Earl of Dunbar such care and fervency to remove these impediments, that bending his wits in more passionate

* For the slaughter of the laird of Johnston, *R. Johnston Rer. Brit. Histor. lib. xiv. p. 449.*

manner nor [than] he used to exprefs in common and indifferent matters †, he did travel fo earneftly with the noblemen and whole remanent Lords of Articles, and folicted fome of the moft learned and beft experimented of your Majefty's council to furnifh reafons and light to the clearing of the probation of that moft heinous treason, and gave to myfelf fo earneft charge, and furnifhed fo pregnant, judicious, and clear grounds to confirm the fummons, and manifef the vive [lively] circumftances thereof to the world, that he left no travel to me but the repetition of the fubftance of his information, to the which, having fo nearly conformed my difcourfe as poffibly I could, it pleafed God, that the Lords of the Articles being happily prepared by the depositions of divers honeft men of the miniftry, and other famous witneffes, who recognofcing unquhill [the deceafed] Reftalrig's hand-writ in his treasonable miffives [letters,] produced by me, with very fenfible and forcible reafons and caufes of their conftant and confident affirmation, that thefe miffives were written by him; When the probation of the fummons was referred

† The reader may perhaps be furprized to hear a prime minifter commended to his mafter, for having *travelled earneftly* with the judges, in order to convince them of the guilt of a perfon tried in effigy for treason. Dr. Robertfon, *History of Scotland*, Vol. ii. p. 223, has tranfcribed part of this letter. It is publifhed here at full length, as it difplays the notions of that age.

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TO KING JAMES.

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to the Lords votes, they found, uniformly, all in one voice, the said summons to be so clearly proven, that they seemed to contend who should be able, most zealously, to express the satisfaction of his heart, not only by most pithy words, but by tears of joy; divers of the best rank, confessing, that that whereof they doubted, at their entry in the house, was now so manifest, that they behoved to esteem them traitors who should any longer refuse to declare their assured resolution of the truth of that treason. So hoping your Majesty will graciously pardon my boldness, in offering to your Majesty this rude relation of these purposes concerning my charge in your Majesty's service, I beseech God, who has so mercifully preserved your Majesty, from the horrible devices of your devilish enemies, and so miraculously detected their hellish practices, long to protect and preserve your Majesty from all harms and dangers, and to grant your Majesty all happiness and contentment. Edinr. this 21 Junii, 1609.

Your most Sacred Majesty's

most bounden and faithful servant,

TH. HAMILTON.

B

RICHARD BANCROFT,
 ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,
 TO
 KING JAMES.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELL. MAJESTY,

I WAS very much grieved upon Friday, considering how it should come to pass, that your Majesty was pleased to let fall some words, as if you supposed that your clergy were idle, especially such as have two benefices, because I am persuaded that there was never in this kingdom less cause to complain thereof; I would they had no juster occasion of complaint, that where is most preaching, there they find the least fruit of their travels.

For the bill that is in hand against pluralities, it is the same, that, for above forty years, from parliament to parliament, hath been rejected; and that very worthily.

If, before it had been fought to have tied every preacher to one benefice, it had been provided, that every benefice should have been made a sufficient living for a worthy preacher, the attempt

* In this year, 1610, "Bancroft offered to the parliament a project for the better providing of a maintenance to the clergy." *Biogr. Britan.* p. 468. [F] where the plan at large is inserted from the *Paper-Office*.

had been allowable; so as the dignity of the ministry considered, (which Satan dare not impugn,) the sufficiency of such benefices might have been rated accordingly. But thereof I have some doubt, especially sith your poor ministers are now in their hands, to have their portions limited, who, for the most part, will never think (we fear) themselves to have enough, nor cease to esteem the little (God knows) that the clergy hath to be too much. It is true, that now there is a fair overture, of an earnest desire, to make every parsonage and vicarage in England a competent living for a learned preacher; but the issue thereof I do greatly suspect, that it will only tend (through the undervaluing of learned mens deserts) to the tying of particular preachers to one parsonage or vicarage of the better sort, and so rather to deprive them all indeed of sufficient living, than to make the lesser benefices able to maintain men so qualified, as now it is with such earnestness desired.

But God's will be done; we that are bishops will do our best (as heretofore we have to our powers endeavoured) for the increasing of a learned ministry; but we may never yield to any course that shall procure apparently their utter overthrow, as to expect that they should still make brick, without diminishing their task, when their straw is with-held from them, and they shall be driven to gather stubble in the fields.

Besides, we of the clergy do greatly wonder at the pretended zeal which first begat, and still doth support the said bill; in that the statute, which at

loweth certain ministers, (thereby qualified) to recover the tithes of two parishes, is held to be unlawful, and so consequently necessary to be abrogated; whilst another statute (by force whereof many laymen do reap the tithes of two benefices) is past over, with silence, as if there were no fault at all in it, but lawfully ought to be continued. If it be said, that the law hath laid the care of souls in such benefices (termed impropriation) upon Vicars and Curates, it may as truly be answered, that in like sort the law tieth every minister that hath two benefices, to supply his absence from that where he is not resident, with a sufficient minister his substitute: whereas two thousand impropriations at the least in England, I am well assured, are most miserably served by poor souls, that live in pitiful beggary, not having the hire of ordinary coachmen, or meaner servants in gentlemens houses, to live upon. So as, for mine own part, I hold it a very unequal and scandalous project, to allow that laymen may still receive the tithes of two benefices, and to provide, that hereafter it shall be unlawful for a godly minister so to do, considering, to whom, by God's ordinance, tithes ought to be paid. It seemeth therefore unto me, that, in the current of this great zeal, your Majesty shall do a work worthy of your most religious wisdom and circumspection, if you would be pleased, of your goodness, for the trial of the said pretended zeal, (which is often a mask for many bad pretences,) to insist upon the abrogating of the said statute for impropriations, whereby tithes are

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paid to laymen, (for whom they were never appointed,) before you permit the course now held against the poor ministers, to be too far proceeded in, except you do find any likelihood, that every benefice in England, with cure, will be made a sufficient living for a preacher; which I never expect, nor (I fear) will be yielded unto, without some attempt, either against cathedral churches, or for the diminishing your bishops livings.

Moreover, upon the advantage of your Majesty's great necessities at this time, I do foresee, and partly already perceive, that many things will be pressed upon your Majesty, against the clergy, by the lower house of parliament, as hoping, now or never, to obtain that which divers of them, for many years, have aimed at. And that your Majesty, for the gaining of your own ends towards your supply and support, may be inclined to give more way unto them therein, than, I judge, may stand with the good continuance of that state of this church, wherein you found it to be most royally upheld by the late Queen, (of most worthy memory,) and hath since been likewise maintained by your most excellent Majesty accordingly, with a very great increase of many singular benefits, and most princely favours towards it. But myself, with the rest of your Majesty's bishops, and the whole clergy, do so fully repose our trust and assurance in your Majesty's most royal and Christian affection towards us, as we know that all the cunning and sleight in the world, shall never be able to work your Highness, to the appro-

bation and allowance of any thing, that may either tend to our unjust reproach, or to the prejudice of religion, which hitherto hath more flourished in England than in all the churches besides of Christendom; considering that all the plots and practices, at this time designed against us, may easily be met with by the observation of your own rules and directions, delivered so oft, this session, to the lower house by the Lord Treasurer. If we of the clergy have, in our proceedings, transgressed your Majesty's laws, they may thereupon justly frame their grievances, and we are well content to answer unto them: but where your Majesty's laws do support us, and our doings, we can never doubt of your Majesty's most royal and gracious assistance.

A bill rejected the two last sessions of this parliament, having again passed the lower house, was, upon Saturday last, read, by the Lord Chancellor's appointment, to the upper house: the copy whereof I have presumed here to inclose. Your Majesty, in perusing of it, shall find it to stretch very far, neither regarding some statutes yet in force, nor the authority either of your Majesty's convocations, (representing in former times the church of England,) or of your Highness, the chief and supreme governor of it. The last session but one, sundry of your bishops, in a great committee, answered all those reasons that were then thought fit to be alledged for the passage of this bill. But all is one; reason or no reason, it forceth not; it is importunity, and opportunity, that

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is relied upon; and we must again endure a new
brunt to no purpose, except your Majesty shall be
pleased to prevent it; and I think it very necessary
you should so do, for the avoiding of public scan-
dal, if your Majesty's supremacy should now again
be called in question, as of necessity it must be, if
the authors of this bill do stand to the justification
of it against us. I most humbly beseech your most
excellent Majesty to pardon this my boldness: *sacerdotis vox debet esse libera*: and I could not but
condemn myself, being Archbishop of Canterbu-
ry, if I should not, with all my strength, and for
the preventing of future mischiefs, stand up in the
gap, which is sought to be made in the very form
and frame of the church, and likewise plead in
the best sort I am able, before so mighty, so learn-
ed, so provident, so religious, and so wise a king,
for so well a settled and worthy form of religion,
and for so godly, so learned, and so painful a cler-
gy, whom your Majesty shall ever have at your
commandment, most loyal, most faithful subjects,
and always, in their divine meditations and pray-
ers, your daily orators. Almighty God long bless
and protect your Majesty from the malice and
wicked attempts of all your enemies, granting you
long life, a comfortable reign, and all other his
heavenly blessings, both here upon earth, and here-
after in his glorious kingdom for ever. At Lam-
beth, this 14th of May, 1610.

Your Majesty's most bounden,
and dutiful Chaplain,

R. CANT.

FOLLOWS A COPY OF THE BILL MENTIONED IN THE PRECEDING LETTER.

* AN ACT RESTRAINING THE EXECUTION OF CANONS ECCLESIASTICAL, NOT CONFIRMED BY PARLIAMENT, READ IN THE UPPER HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT, MAY 12. 1610.

FORASMUCH as divers inconveniencies have grown and happened to your Majesty's subjects of this realm of England, by the multiplicity of canons, constitutions, and ordinances ecclesiastical, heretofore made; whereof fundry, varying from the common laws and statutes of this your Highness's realm, have already grown, and are likely daily to grow more grievous and burdensome to your Majesty's subjects, unless some restraint and provision be made to the contrary; may it therefore please your most excellent Majesty, that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by your most excellent Majesty, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same: That no canon, constitution, or ordinance

* This may serve to supply a small omission of Mr. Hume's, in his history of Great Britain, Vol. i. p. 37. where he says, "in this session, 1610, the Commons contented themselves with remonstrating against the proceedings of the *High Commission Court*,"

ACT RESTRAINING ECCLES. CANONS. 25

ecclesiastical, heretofore made, constituted, or ordained, within the space of ten years last past, or hereafter to be made, constituted or ordained, shall be of any force or effect, by any means whatsoever, to impeach or hurt any person or persons in his or their life, liberty, lands, or goods, until the same be first confirmed by act of parliament, any law, custom, ordinance, or thing to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding.

Ext. p. Ro. BOWYER, Cler. Parl.

RICHARD BANCROFT,
 ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,
 TO
 KING JAMES.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELL. MAJESTY,

WE the bishops and clergy of the province of Canterbury, being assembled, by your Majesty's authority, in convocation, considering your Majesty's most princely favour towards us, and your present wants, notwithstanding there is one old subsidy of four shillings in the pound behind unpaid, have very willingly, readily, and with one consent, granted to your Majesty a new subsidy of six shillings in the pound, and so have ordered the payment of it with the former, as they may be both in your exchequer within one year and an half. By antient custom, we your said bishops, with a selected number of the lower house of convocation, were to have presented this our grant unto your most excellent Majesty, and to have beseeched you to accept the same in good part, as a smaller testimony of our duty and affection towards you, than your Majesty's goodness towards us hath many ways deserved. But now, by reason of your Majesty's absence, and through the indisposition of my own body, not daring as yet to undertake so long a journey, I have presumed, with the advice of my Lord Treasurer, to send

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ARCHBP. BANCROFT to K. JAMES. 27

our said grant to your Majesty by Sir Thomas Lake, not doubting, but that, of your princely clemency, you will take this disorderly offering of it in good part; and, by a word or two, either from yourself, or in your name, by Sir Thomas Lake, signify unto me, to be delivered to our convocation, your Majesty's good acceptance of it; so as the same, together with the grant itself, may be sent back again to-morrow in the morning betimes, that it may be exhibited to the lower house, and perhaps read beforenoon. Almighty God preserve your most excellent Majesty from the malice of all your enemies, and blefs you with a long life, granting you many more quiet parliaments, and all other comforts in this world, and for ever hereafter, through our Saviour Jesus Christ. At Lambeth, this 16th of July, 1610.

Your Majesty's most bounden,

and loyal Chaplain,

R. CANT.*

* This offer of a subsidy was no injudicious method of enforcing the arguments used by the Archbishop in his letter of the 14th of May, 1610.

LETTER FROM SCOTLAND

TO

KING JAMES. †

MOST GRACIOUS AND DREAD SOVEREIGN,

HOWEVER, there can be no distrust at all of the infinite, rare, and undoubted loyalty of your Highnesses worthy counsellors, and subjects, daily resident about your sacred person, in foreseeing, and preventing, so far as may come within the compass of mens wit, all imminent dangers, which probably might ensue, unto that head, of which all of us be but members, lifeless indeed, and most unhappy without your preservation, otherwise most blessed in the continuance of your government; yet our heart-burning affection, and love to your sacred person, upon just occasion, doth urge us, thus boldly, to presume in making entreaty to your Majesty for that which we in our weak judgments do propone, and yet do fear to allow, untill such time as it shall abide the touchstone, humbly beseeching, as we do fully expect

† From a copy found among the papers of the Lord Balfour of Burleigh, which the honourable Mrs. Margaret Balfour politely communicated to the Editor. It is not certain whether this letter was sent from the Privy Council, or the Parliament of Scotland; it is most probable, from the Privy Council.

from that superabundant fountain of all clemency, good construction of our dutiful meaning, with full pardon of all such errors which may be incident in the delivery of this our advice. And being with ourselves inquiet in mind, until such time as we should make your Majesty acquainted with our jealousy and fear conceived, not able to be so well expressed by letter, as we hope shall be by mouth imparted: We thereupon have desired your Majesty's right trusty and well beloved counsellor, the Lord Balfour of Burlic, one of our number, with convenient speed, to address himself thither, whom we do expect your Highness will credit and trust.

This late tragical, villainous, and treacherous murder of the French King, most vilely committed by a most miserable cative, being his own subject, as we do hear, may justly move us, however absent, yet no whit less dutifully affected than those who be present, to meditate and consider of that wretchedness which may befall us in the wanting of him, without whom we neither can nor do wish to live. And however just respects hath occasioned your Majesty's absence from hence, these years past, and hath made your stay and residence to be there, yet the river of milk and honey, justice and mercy, coming from that well-spring of your Majesty's most rare and singular wisdom, and prudent directions, from time to time, sent down hither, hath so overflowed in these parts, that we may justly now boast, what no former age, for a long space, did ever scarcely af-

ford, that now every one may peaceably dwell under his own fig-tree. And as we cannot but herein be sensible of this our happiness, and most ingrate, both to God and your Majesty, if we should not acknowledge his only instrument hereof on earth; so the least fear and jealousy, conceived of the loss of such a jewel, should move the usufructuary of the most happy and virtuous qualities of it, to omit no means whereby he might be sufficiently secured from being robbed of it. And we having now heard by report, and thereupon justly fearing, there being too much cause in such a case, in regard both of the many former, and this late precedent, the hazard of that sacred and anointed person, by whom we live, and in whom we are most happy, and that there should be some assassins appointed for executing this direction, having, as it is informed, taken the sacraments, the institution of which, God knows, was to some other end: We cannot but be much dismayed, and driven into a just fear thereby, to see these last frogs, foretold in the Apocalyps, thus sent out by the devil, and his supports on earth, to execute their hellish directions upon God's own lieutenants; which damnable persons may think perhaps no time or occasion more probable, and likely for atchieving of such a villainy, than when your Majesty shall be at game abroad; at which time every one almost, albeit unknown, have heretofore been accustomed, upon pretence of seeing of the sport, to have more access near your sacred person than was expedient, which form can-

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not hereafter continue without too much likelihood of danger and peril: and in so far, as your Majesty's guard are most of them unfit for any such purpose, and that in the time of your Highness progress, the pensioners have not been much accustomed to attend, we could therefore wish, that some should be especially designed for this intent only, and to be exempted from all other service, or attendance, other than their waiting upon your Majesty's person in the time of your being abroad, at hunting, hawking, or any other pastime or game in the fields, who being to the number of some twenty gentlemen, under the commandment and charge of that worthy nobleman the Captain of your Majesty's guard, may be ever still attending your person, stopping and debaring all men from access, or coming in any sort near to your Majesty, enduring your Highness being abroad, except noblemen, your Majesty's own known servants, and such others as it shall please your Majesty to call upon. And if it be your Highnesses pleasure to like of these our country people, either for whole or half number, upon signification of your Majesty's pleasure to the Captain of the guard, a special choice shall be made of fit persons to attend that charge, who shall no way be burthensom to that state. And herein we do persuade ourselves, that your Majesty's most grave, honourable, and wise Council there will be so far from disliking our motion, having thus proceeded out of mere duty and affection to our conjunct master, who is the happiness of all of us, as,

32 FROM SCOTLAND to K. JAMES.

without doubt, the same will rather move in them an earnest zeal to concur, and, in a friendly sort, to contend in this duty with us. And since we do know it to be most necessary and expedient, that your Majesty, for the preservation of your health, should continue your frequent exercises abroad, the deserting whereof could not be without the hazard and danger of ensuing infirmity and sickness, we would therefore wish, and do thus boldly presume to offer our advice, for a likely means of your Majesty's greater safety; albeit we do know, that he who holdeth the bridle, in the devils mouth, shall never give so much looseness to the reins, as that he shall be, in any sort, able to harm him who is the chief and greatest protector, and nuris-father, [nursing-father,] of God's church at this present upon earth; and albeit God's only help, in this case, is most to be trusted unto, and relied upon, yet ought no lawful means in a man's power be omitted. So praying the Almighty God, for the surety and preservation of his own anointed, and for your Majesty's long and prosperous reign over us, we rest, &c.

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FROM A PERSON UNKNOWN.†

MOST HONOURABLE AND MOST DEAR SISTER,

I HAVE been long silent, being desirous to tell you good news, and not the troubles which I have accomplished, and the authors and malice which were the maintainers and causers of them, with suffering, patience and constancy, and a good cause; and now that I am entering again in a cause of reputation, and, I hope, benefit, I am to you as I am and ever will be. I am now at Granada taking provision of a rent of 3000 crowns by year, which the King hath given me, beside as much more in Naples, and am presently returning to court to fasten upon my employment. In the mean time, because my true love unto you can suffer no delay in counselling of you, and advising of you of what shall be honourable and commodious to you and yours, I send you this paper, which I desire you, by all the love you bear me, and I have given you, to act the contents of, if things succeed where you are, as they are desired and hoped for here. The King of Spain designs to marry the Princess of England, and in reason

† This curious paper is transcribed from an incorrect copy in the Advocates Library. It relates to a fact scarcely mentioned by historians, and may serve to shew the restless intriguing spirit of the English Roman Catholics in that age.

of *State* his intention will be *favourably considered* in England, if the King with the advancement of his daughter, and embrace the interest of his estate, If, I say, it be concluded, by any means send any of my nieces to court here, and my boy Anthony, and rely upon me for the care of them both; and your good prayers and blessing shall be all which you shall need to think of more for them. Me, I know, you will recommend to the Princess, and though she knew me not here I shall be able to serve her, and will serve her faithfully; Sister, tho' the business, in all wise reason, should carry itself, yet there are certain dogs which bark *at it*, not for that they have cause, but because it is their custom. And I know you are wise, and can do good offices if you like, and doing them you shall bind unto you, by them, great princes. And so, my most dear sister, with my most well love to you, and my honourable brother, and all yours, and my humble duty to my most worthy lady, I commit you all to God's protection. From Granada, this 3d of April, 1612.

Your brother, which loves you as himself.

MY MOST DEAR SISTER,

I give you a few reasons, though I know you are wise enough to make moe, yet because the whole controversy will go upon these points, or such like, I have sent you these, and you can amplify them with some discretion.

I. The King of Spain is a Catholic, with what

conscience can the King of England marry his daughter unto him?

Then with what conscience can the King of Spain marry her? since all religions are grounded (as they think which profess them) upon conscience, either true or imaginary conscience, or any other thing, which, under the name of conscience, is opinion:—But not to dispute upon a point of canon law, but to speak morally. Princes ordinarily carry the point of conscience upon a *plain field* of interest, and the King of England's interest is much greater, in this marriage, than the interest of the King of Spain.

First, For the honour and advancement of his daughter; for to whom can he hope to marry her? To a drunken German; and though he carry the name of a prince, yet he is subject to the Empire. Great difference between him, and such as him, and the greatest marriage in the world; or if he hope or be desired by any other, who can be the other? Some say, some poor prince, as the Duke of Savoy, or such like, whom the King must maintain and sustain with his daughter.

Secondly, The honour of himself, to have a son in law greater than himself.

Thirdly, The honour of his estate, that the greatest marriage of the world, desired and sought by all the world, seeketh and desireth to marry in his estate, and with his daughter, who *is deserving* before all other.

Then if there should happen occasion to the King to use friends, who they of that ability?

36 FROM A PERSON UNKNOWN.

Then if the King should have commotion in his own estates, it is certain the movers of them must have hopes, and the motion must have a means to sustain itself, no prince nor potentate in the world is of ability to give hope nor estate but Spain. By this marriage all this secured.

II. But some idle brains will say, that he hath married his sister unto France, our enemies, and fortifieth France against our pretensions, and what interest shall we have by this marriage?

The interest is shewed, the marriage of France is a trifle; not to go to examples, I will end with reason. The Infanta of Spain is a child, and the King of France is the like, neither of both can have neither ——— nor the authority, nor the pretension of England to France any speedy resolution. In the mean time, the Princess is a woman grown, and an excellent woman, both in beauty of body and mind, and is likely to possess the King; so that for the present we are sure of him for our commodities, and for the future not unsure; since we see daily, that wise step-mothers make their husbands forget the children by the first wife.

III. But they will say, that the King of Spain is a widower, and the son by her shall be but a subject.

Yet is it better for her that he is a widower, and the better for England.

For her, since he knoweth how to be a husband; and having had a wife of infinite goodness, but of small beauty, and loving her and honour-

ing her as he did, it is doubtless he will honour and love her much more, which hath beauty and goodness.

For England it is better, since all successions are uncertain, God giveth and God taketh. If the King of Spain had no succession, it might be that England would fall to Spain; now if he have a son, and God should curse the land so much, it falleth to her son.

IV. But her son shall only be a subject, if such an accident happen not; which God forbid.

The King of Spain hath many kingdoms, and power to set over, neither are his kingdoms entailed, like particular lands, he may dispose of them as he likes. And you never saw nor heard but that the second marriages were more dear than the first; and if there be danger, it is then to the first children, not to the second.

V. But the King of Spain will have liberty of conscience in England.

Surely a great point. Let us see to whom or for whom it is good. Now the King of England feareth his subjects, where-through that fear molesteth them and himself, if he grant them what they desire, entreat obligation, and so this ended. If they would be ill, having no helper, it cannot be ill; so that this point maketh for the King, to have his subjects love him, or otherwise to be without fear or jealousy, since they will never move (bound by obligation) nor attempt, being deprived of all hope of succession.

VI. But the King will lose by this match his

38 FROM A PERSON UNKNOWN.

friends in Germany, which are of the self-same religion.

A fair point: What prince loveth one another but for interest, and which is better for the King of England to be assured of one prince of power, than to be in hope of many without power, when he hath more authority either to do them good or harm, than he shall have more true assurance of them.

VII. But the Catholics of England, when they are assured of so mighty a succession, will make an end of the King and his sons, as they have attempted, not having such a supporter.

First, It is a question and almost an undoubted truth, that Catholics never attempt against Kings nor estate. Then if they had, through a strong motive of necessity, having no more necessity they will attempt no more; then if they had a hope in foreign help, that hope is taken from them by this great combination. Then the King hath two sons, bring them up asunder, and if there should be a devilish device by wicked men, the one will be the revenger of the death of the other.

Those points I send you briefly as the most weighty, tho' there be no point weighty against so great a benefit for the King and his estate. You will use them wisely. And besides, dear Sister, in England many spend, and few have wherewithal; from hence are certain hopes for all which are worthy.

Neither be you disanimated by my brother, who lost a great business because he knew not how to carry it,

FROM A PERSON UNKNOWN. 39

If you find ways open or difficult, it will ———
little to speak with the Spanish ambassador.

I am exceeding sorry that my Lady Arbella's
precipitation hurt herself, and depriveth you of a
great help in this business. But because I know
you neither want will, diligence, nor friends, these
points, which is in your power, I commit to your-
self. And I will pray to God, to help, guide and
assist you in those which are out of your power.

K I N G J A M E S

T O

COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED FOR EN-
QUIRING INTO THE CONDUCT OF
LORD BALFOUR OF BURLIE.

RIGHT TRUSTY AND RIGHT WELL BELOVED COU-
SIN AND COUNSELLOR, AND TRUSTY AND WELL
BELOVED COUNSELLORS, WE GREET YOU WELL,

WHEREAS the Lord Burlie being in this our
kingdom, and challenged of some misde-
meanour, and evil beseeming speeches uttered at
the last parliament, did deny the same, yet after
such a manner as gave us no satisfaction. And
because the very truth of the matter can no where
else so well be tried as where it was committed,
and that we will not condemn any man unheard,
we have therefore thought good to direct this our
commission unto you, amongst whom we have not
nominated any of the nobility, saving our Chan-
cellor, as being fitter witnesses than judges in this
matter, willing you to examine the said Lord Bur-
lie, and to try wherein he answereth truly, and
wherein otherwise; and to return unto us, with
all expedition, his answer, together with your own
censure thereof, to these two articles following.

First, That being convened with the rest of the
noblemen, upon the first day of the parliament,
who were, according to the custom, to make elec-
tion of eight Lords of Articles out of the spiri-
tuality, he should have made an harangue unto
them, exhorting the nobility to keep their antient

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privileges, and not to lose any of them under the title of the King's prerogative, by electing these of the spirituality for Lords of the Articles, whom the secretary, in our name, gave in a roll unto them.*

Secondly, That at their extraordinary meeting with the nobility, had amongst themselves, for advising how to resist to that subsidy, which was already past by the Lords of the Articles, he should have stood up, and, after a bold manner, affirmed, that it was he who spake last with the King, of any of that number, and that he would avow, that the King told him that he would have no greater subsidy, for the marriage of his daughter, than ten thousand pounds Sterling; asking, very audaciously, who durst say the contrary.

Yet do we not affirm, that he uttered the very self-same words; for neither could we hear himself speak them, nor have talked with any who heard him, but ye are to try if the sum of his speeches tended to this sense. And these premises recommending to your special diligence, as these presents shall be unto you a sufficient warrant, we commend you to God. [1613.]

* The learned author of *Essays concerning British Antiquities* observes, p. 53, that "the bishops were universally in the interest of the crown, as they have been at all times, and upon all occasions; and as the whole bishops were for the crown, it was indifferent which eight were chosen." However this charge against Lord Burleigh, shews, that in 1612, King James thought otherwise, and that a court list of bishops was judged necessary.

THE DEFENCE MADE

BY

LORD BALFOUR OF BURLIE.

FIRST QUESTION.

WHEREAS it is alledged, that I should have made an harangue, exhorting the nobility to keep their antient privileges, and not to lose any of them, under the title of the King's prerogative.

ANSWER.

I made no harangue, neither did I exhort the nobility to keep their antient privileges. Only when my opinion was craved, these were the speeches uttered by me, for discharge of that which I owe to the state: "If his Majesty were to live amongst us continually, then do I think that any subject might concredit to put his estate in his gracious hands; but since, in another age, we shall have a framd [foreign] King, unknown to our land, &c. I do think, according to my judgment, that for preserving to us all the marks of a free monarchy (so far as we can) that the Lords of Arcticles should be chosen by election and voting, always desiring these self [same] to be chosen nominated by his Majesty, one or two being only changed for keeping our privilege."

SECOND QUESTION.

At that extraordinary meeting which the nobility had among themselves, for advising how to resist to that subsidy, already past by the Lords of

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the Articles, that I should have stood up, and, in a bold manner, affirmed, that the King told me that he would have no greater subsidy for his daughter's marriage nor [than] 10000 l. Sterling; and that I asked, very audaciously, who durst say the contrary.

ANSWER.

I will affirm, that the nobility met not to advise how to resist the subsidy, already granted by the Lords of the Articles; but our meeting was to determine, how his Majesty should have a subsidy, and such a one as might give his Majesty satisfaction; for it is more nor [than] manifest, that the form of the procuring this subsidy was so prejudicial to his Majesty's honour and prerogative, and it was thought to be so hurtful to his Majesty's poor subjects, the rich ones getting immunity by annulling the act of parliament against usurers*, that, on the last day of voting, this same would have been recalled, if not some of us who tendered so dearly his Majesty's reputation, in respect our parliament was so exemplary to our neighbour country, did use our best endeavours to mitigate the matter; and to bring the matter to better conformity, I only repeated truly his Majesty's speeches, which were, that 10000 l. was the least that he could crave of us, for our part of that portion which was to be given to his daughter.

I am most confident, that no subject within this isle will say, that, audaciously, I should have said,

* 9 Act. 21 Parl. Jam. VI. 1612.

44 LORD BURLIE'S DEFENCE.

“ who durst say but ten thousand pounds would
 “ content his Majesty ;” and if any subject breathe-
 ing dare affirm the same, I do subscribe that which
 I have written, that he lieth, &c. †

† It appears from a petition by Lord Burle to the
 King, that Spotiswood, Archbishop of Glasgow, was the
 accuser on this occasion. Lord Burle's words are, “ now
 “ seeing that the Bishop of Glasgow doth still persist in
 “ the prosecution and probation of this calumny against
 “ me, my humble suit, to your most gracious Majesty, is,
 “ that you will be pleased to command the Bishop of Glas-
 “ gow to set down, on paper, all these particulars alledged
 “ against me, subscribed with his hand, and I shall answer
 “ them under mine; then shall your Majesty better judge
 “ both of the probabilities and probation of the matter.—
 “ I would likewise humbly intreat your Majesty's favour,
 “ when I have cleared myself of these unjust imputations,
 “ that I may, without offence, lay before your Majesty,
 “ and the world, the particular misdemeanours of the Bi-
 “ shop of Glasgow, which being truly known to your Ma-
 “ jesty, I think, you shall find him not worthy that trust
 “ he has of your Majesty, and most unfitting for the place
 “ and dignity he hath in your state.”

The reader will compare this with what Spotiswood says,
 History, B. vii. p. 519.

The Editor takes this opportunity of correcting an er-
 ror committed by Mr. Keith, both in his history of the re-
 formation in Scotland, and in his Catalogue of Scottish Bi-
 shops, he asserts, “ that great freedoms have been used in
 “ publishing” Spotiswood's work; he even points out cer-
 tain interpolations in one of the MSS. But the truth is, that

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LORD BALFOUR OF BURLIE .

TO

SIR JAMES BALFOUR.

BROTHER,

IN my former, of the 22d of this instant, I wrote a little of these unexpected drifts and delays which I had of the Lord of Scone; now I will set down particularly the progress of all that past among us. My brother, Sir Harry, wrote to me, how the Lord of Scone reported to our gracious Sovereign the King, his most sacred Majesty, that I should have said at our rencounter, while he was going to court and I returning, that all which was done to me was done for an shew, and that I had my Lord of Rochester his promise to be repossessed to my place in council, after I had staid an little in Ireland. That I should have said that matters were done for an shew: the Lord of Scone deponed, that he never heard it, neither did I ever utter any such word; but I did say, that when I was in Ireland I looked that my honourable friend, my Lord of Rochester, would interpone his cre-

those interpolations are corrections of the hand writing of Spotiswood himself; and the error of Mr. Keith is the more strange, as the MS. which he endeavours to depreciate, was his own property, and as it contains the first draught of some part of the history in the hand writing of Spotiswood.

dit, with his Majesty, to get me repofseſſed to my place in council, and that I expected all other friendly offices at his hands.

Brother, I pray you mark the difference of a promise to be repofseſſed, or to interpoſe his Lordship's credit to deal for my repofseſſion; for I muſt confeſs to you, that I never concealed from any how I was moſt confident of my Lord of Rocheſter his favour, and that he would do for me as for his friend and kiſman.

At my firſt rencounter with the Lord of Scone, I urged, in fair terms, to get his depoſition under his hand, what were the words that paſt betwixt him and me, which willingly he granted to do; and he affirmed, that no man durſt ſay his words were any other, but that I hoped my Lord of Rocheſter would interpoſe his credit to do for me. Always he ſaid, the Biſhop of Glaſgow repeated theſe ſpeeches a little too liberally, in his preſence, to his Majesty; but that he did contrary the Biſhop, when his Majesty asked of him if I had ſaid ſo. I was kept daily in expectation, for the ſpace of twenty days, to have the truth of this matter ſigned by the Lord of Scone's own hand. At laſt, I found his drift to be, that he would firſt adviſe with ſome friends in Edinburgh, before he would ſubſcribe any thing. Wherefore, on Tueſday the 25th of May, I followed him thither, and urged him, in Balvaird's preſence, who was ever privy to all that paſt among us, that he would ſet down, under his hand, theſe ſpeeches paſt betwixt him and me; he answered, that firſt he behaved to

have an author. I told him, that my brother, Sir Harry, had written so to me, at my Lord of Rochester his command, to whom I did owe so much, that I would spare for no subjects respect to clear myself, for giving his Lordship satisfaction: then the Lord of Scone told me, that Sir Harry was not sufficient to be a warrant to him; because he would have had another of better quality, as I think, to have dealt with; for he said, that he could command fourscore as good as Sir Harry to answer him. I must confess, these speeches, together with his former delays, did irritate me much: so I willed him to go with me presently to the fields, and to carry a gentleman of worth with him, to bear witness what should pass among us, and I would both justify that my brother, Sir Harry, his speeches were written upon good warrant; as also, I would make him set down, under his hand, so much as would clear me of these and other his calumnies suggested to my prejudice.

He refused plainly to go with me; so I told him, that he would move me to take another course, much more prejudicial to his credit: wherefore, immediately after my returning to my chamber, I wrote to him, that his shifts were more proper to a poltroon, than to a man of quality and honour, and therefore I affirmed, that as his speeches were false, which he had said of me, so himself was a liar, &c. I had no sooner directed this letter, but within half an hour thereafter I was sent for by the council, and am warded in my house, under the pain of twenty thousand merks, till I find cau-

• 48 L. BALFOUR to SIR JAMES BALFOUR.

tion to keep the King's peace. How they came so suddenly to the knowledge of things I refer it to your consideration.

In the mean time, I pray you to deal with my honourable friend, my Lord of Rochester, that the malice of my unfriends may not make new sinistrous informations to irritate his Majesty further against me: always if his Lordship be satisfied with my comportment, I care not any further trouble that can fall to me; for I will never cease to the spending of the last drop of blood in my body, till his Lordship be fully satisfied, as I will, in any other service, also hazard my life, without speiring [asking] his Lordship's quarrel. My greatest regret now is, that I should have had to do with an *indigne*. So leaving to be further troublesome at this present, after my loving commendations,

I remain

Your most loving Brother.†

Edinburgh, 26th May,
1613.

† There is a very imperfect relation of this affair in Spotswood's History. B. vii. p. 519.

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EARL OF NORTHAMPTON*

TO

MR. JOHN MURRAY OF THE
BEDCHAMBER.

THE last act before my departure, worthy Mr. Murray, is my request to yourself, to kiss the sacred hands of my royal Master, and only let him know, that I have performed all my walks, with prayers for the long and happy preservation of his Majesty, not doubting whatsoever become of me, those prosperous events will spring up in all quicksets, that are fenced with love and loyalty.

For my own part, as I never altered my compass, so, beginning his loyal servant, I die his faithful beadsman, adding this only petition to the rest to God, that, as among Kings he hath created him the best, so in the same rank he will crown him the happiest.

* Lord Henry Howard, of the house of Norfolk, created Earl of Northampton by King James. He died in the year 1614. There is a lively and just character of this remarkable personage in Mr. Walpole's Catalogue of royal and noble authors. Article, NORTHAMPTON. This letter, written with a trembling hand, is, probably, the last of his composition, and may serve to shew, that he died, as he had lived, a pedant and a flatterer.

D

50 E. NORTHAMPTON to MR. MURRAY.

I am extremely full of pain, and holding the
time long till I be at my journey's end, I leave my-
self to the demonstrations of your true love, and
will be ever found,

Your affectionate,

and constant friend.

H. NORTHAMPTON.

Wednesday at Ten.

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NOTES FROM THE AWARD PRONOUNCED BY KING JAMES IN THE REFERENCE MADE TO HIM BY WILLIAM CRICHTON, NATURAL SON OF THE LORD CRICHTON OF SANQUHAR, DECEASED, AND WILLIAM CRICHTON OF RYHILL, CONCERNING THE SUCCESSION OF THE SAID LORD CRICHTON, 2d May, 1614.†

IT is the like difference betwixt an unlawful collusion and a lawful concurrence of friends to a good end, as is betwixt the unlawful practices and consultations of traiterous and mutinous subjects against the person or state of their lawful King, and betwixt the concurrence and consulting of a King's sworn counsellors, for advising upon the furtherance of their King's service; otherways any such as, before our coming to this crown, concurred and consulted upon the means for the safe enthroning of us here, after the death of the late Queen, of famous memory, might be accused of making of collusion with us.

—We must resort to that undoubted principle which destroys equivocation, a pest wherewith the Roman church has now infected the whole Christian world, the principle is this, that in all bar-

† Communicated by Mr. John Davidson, Clerk to the King's Signet in Scotland.

32 CONCERNING THE SUCCESSION

gains, contracts, or oaths, the true interpretation of them is to be taken according to the intention of the party by whom they are made.

Notwithstanding the said assignation, made to the said son natural, be all written with the said unquhil [deceased] Lord his own hand, (which in that part doth satisfy the clause of the contract) yet the said assignation cannot be available to the said son natural, as being a person not capable to enjoy the same, except in so far as he is made capable by our rehabilitation; the true meaning whereof must be taken from us, since *ejus est interpretari cujus est condere*; but we assure ourselves that no honest man will ever think so unworthy of us, as that ever we would willingly and wittingly, by any deed of ours, have preferred a base son, born a stranger, to the righteous heir male of so antient an house; for our intention, in granting the rehabilitation, was only, that, according to that usual grace which we daily shew to others, the said Lord his natural son might be thereby made capable to receive, and leave to his posterity, such possessions as the said late Lord might, by his money or other lawful means, purchase unto him, without defrauding any other man of his natural and lawful birth-right; for rehabilitations or graces ought never to be extended or interpreted to the hurt of a third person, since it cannot be properly called a grace towards one, when it tends as much to the hurt of another. We will not here discourse (as being a needless thing) how far Kings may or use to extend the rehabilitation of ba-

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stards, in making them capable to bear the fir-
name, and full name, of that house from which
they are descended; but we are sure it never was
our meaning so to rehabilitate the son natural of
the said late Lord Sanquhar, as thereby to make
him his full successor; besides, that in our said re-
habilitation, we have in noways given him the full
arms of the Crichtons, neither will any man al-
ledge that ever such a suit was moved unto us.
And how averse we have ever been, by our own
inclination, from such unlawful preferring of ba-
stards, our *Basilicon Doron* will bear witness,

D

THE SECOND EXAMINATION OF ED-
MOND PEACHAM CLERK, TAKEN BE-
FORE THE LORDS AT THE TOWER,
JANUARY 14th, 1614.*

THE examine being demanded, how he came to the knowledge of these particularities, which he hath set down, touching the King and the state; as the King's gifts for dances, banquets, dogs, &c? he answereth, that he knoweth them no otherwise, but by his own observation and imagination; and the application of it was made out of the example of Herod.

Being asked with whom he hath conferred, or what information he hath from others, by word, message, or writing, of those slanderous things set down in his papers, or any of them? he answereth, that no person whatsoever, did either, by word, message, or writing, inform him of any of those things; and that he never had any conference with any man touching any of them, neither did ever make any of these known to any person.

EDMUND PEACHAM,

G. CANT.	RAPHE WINWOOD,
T. ELLESMERE Canc.	FULKE GREVILLE,
T. SUFFOLKE.	E. COKE.
E. WORCESTER,	JUL. CAESAR,
FENTON,	

* This is transcribed from a copy in the Advocates Library, and is inserted on account of its connection with what follows,

PART OF A LETTER FROM
SIR RALPH WINWOOD

TO

A LORD; ABOUT K. JAMES'S PERSON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

ON Saturday last, in the afternoon, the lords, appointed by his Majesty to examine Peacham in the Tower, assembled there about two of the clock. A copy of the examinations I send herewith, which your Lordship may be pleased to impart to his Majesty. I find not the man to be, as was related, stupid or dull, but to be full of malice and craft. On Sunday, I pressed the Lords, being in council, to advise and resolve for the further proceeding against this delinquent. The Lord Chancellor, by reason of his indisposition, was absent from the council. The term now approaching, which on Monday next doth begin, the Lords do hold it most convenient for his Majesty's service, that the judges, upon their arrival to this town, should assemble together to every bench. A copy of Peacham's book, authentically collationed, is to be delivered; upon their resolution, which they will not deliver without advised deliberation, the Lords will, with respectful care, proceed, as in duty shall become them, for the honour of his Majesty.

This I find, that the judges declaring this impious fact to be treason, the cause cannot be tried before the end of Easter term, &c.

INTERROGATORIES WHEREUPON PEACHAM IS TO BE EXAMINED.

QUESTIONS IN GENERAL.

1. Who procured you, moved you, or advised you, to put in writing these traiterous flanders which you have set down against his Majesty's person and government, or any of them?

2. Who gave you any advertisement or intelligence touching those particulars which are contained in your writings; as touching the sale of the crown-lands, the deceit of the King's officers, the greatness of the King's gifts, his keeping divided courts, and the rest? and who hath conferred with you, or discoursed with you, concerning those points?

3. Whom have you made privy and acquainted with the said writings, or any part of them? and who hath been your helpers or confederates therein?

4. What use mean you to make of the said writings? was it by preaching them in sermon, or by publishing them in treatise? if, in sermon, at what time, and in what place, meant you to have preached them? if, by treatise, to whom did you intend to dedicate, or exhibite, or deliver such treatise?

5. What was the reason, and to what end did you first set down in scattered papers, and after knit up, in form of a treatise or sermon, such a mass of treasonable flanders against the King, his posterity, and the whole state?

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INTERROGATORIES FOR PEACHAM. 57

QUESTIONS IN PARTICULAR.

6. What moved you to write, that the king might be stricken with death on the sudden, or within eight days, as Ananias or Nabal? do you know of any conspiracy or danger to his person, or have you heard of any such attempt?

7. You have confessed that these things were applied to the king; and that, after the example of preachers and chronicles, kings infirmities are to be laid open. This sheweth plainly your use must be to publish them. Shew to whom, and in what manner?

8. What was the true time when you wrote the said writings, or any part of them? and what was the last time you looked upon them, or perused them before they were found or taken?

9. What moved you to make doubt whether the people will rise against the king for taxes and oppressions? do you know, or have you heard, of any likelihood or purpose of any tumults or commotion?

10. What moved you to write, that the getting of the crown-land again would cost blood, and bring men to say, *this is the heir, let us kill him*? do you know or have you heard of any conspiracy or danger to the prince, for doubt of calling back the crown-land?

11. What moved you to prove, that all the king's officers mought be put to the sword? do you know, or have you heard, of any petition intended to be made against the king's council

§3 INTERROGATORIES FOR PEACHAM.

and officers, or any rising of people against them?

12. What moved you to say, in your writing, that our king, before his coming to the kingdom, promised mercy and judgment, but we find neither? what promise do you mean of? and where in hath the king broke the same promise?

There follows in the hand writing of
Secretary WINWOOD.

Upon these interrogatories, Peacham, this day, was examined before torture, in torture, between torture, and after torture. Notwithstanding, nothing could be drawn from him, he still persisting in his obstinate and insensible denials, and former answer.

January 19th, 1614.

RAPHE WINWOOD.	GERVASE HELWYSE.
JUL. CAESAR.	RAN. CREWE.
FR. BACON.	HENRY YELVERTON.
H. MONTAGUE.	FR. COTTINGTON.

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THE EXAMINATION OF EDMOND PEACHAM,
AT THE TOWER, MARCH 10th, 1614.

BEING asked, when he was last at London, and where he lodged when he was there? he saith he was last at London after the end of the last parliament; but where he lodged, he knoweth not.

Being asked, with what gentlemen, or others in London, when he was here last, he had conference and speech withal? he saith he had speech only with Sir Maurice Berkeley, and that about the petitions only, which had been before sent up to him by the people of the country, touching the apparitors and the grievances offered the people by the court of the officials.

Being asked, touching one Peacham, of his name, what knowledge he had of him, and whether he was not the person that did put into his mind divers of those traiterous passages which are both in his loose and contexted papers? he saith this Peacham, of his name, was a divine, a scholar, and a traveller; and that he came to him some years past, the certainty of the time he cannot remember, and lay at this examine's house a quarter of a year, and took so much upon him, as he had scarce the command of his own house or study; but that he would be writing, sometimes in the church, sometimes in the steeple, sometimes in this examine's study; and now saith farther, that those papers, as well loose as contexted, which he had formerly confessed to be of his own hand,

60 THE EXAMINATION OF E. PEACHAM.

might be of the writing of the said Peacham; and saith confidently, that none of them are his own hand-writing or inditing; but whatsoever is in his former examinations, as well before his Majesty's learned council, as before my Lord of Canterbury, and other the Lords, and others of his Majesty's Privy Council, was wholly out of fear, and to avoid torture, and not otherwise.

Being required to describe what manner of man the said Peacham that lay at his house was; he saith that he was tall of stature, and can make no other description of him, but saith, as he taketh it, he dwelleth sometimes at Honslow as a minister; for he hath seen his letters of orders and licence under the hand of Mr. Dr. Chatterton, sometime Bishop of Lincoln. He denieth to set his hand to this examination,

Examinat. per FR. BACON. RANULPHE CREWE,
GER, HELWYSE, H. YELVERTON,

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THE TRUE STATE OF THE QUESTION,
WHETHER PEACHAM'S CASE BE TREASON OR NOT.

IN THE HAND-WRITING OF KING JAMES.

THE indictment is grounded upon the statute of Edward the third, that he compassed and imagined the king's death; the indictment then is according to the law, and justly founded; but how is it verified? First, then, I gather this conclusion, that since the indictment is made according to the prescription of law, the process is formal, the law is fulfilled, and the judge and jury are only to hearken to the verification of the hypothesis, and whether the minor be well proved or not.

That his writing of this libel is an overt act, the judges themselves do confess; that it was made fit for publication, the form of it bewrays the self; that he kept not these papers in a secret and safe façon, [manner,] but in an open house and lidless cask, both himself and the messenger do confess; nay, himself confesseth, that he wrote them at the desire of an other man, to whom he should have shown them when they had been perfected, and who craved an account for them, which, though it be denied by the other party, worketh sufficiently against the deponer himself. Nay, he confesses, that in the end he meant to preach it; and though, for diminishing of his fault, he alledges, that he meant first to have taken all the bitterness

out of it, that excuse is altogether absurd; for there is no other stuff in, or through it all, but bitterness, which being taken out, it must be a quintessence of an alchimy spirit, without a body, or Popish accidents, without a substance; and then to what end would he have published such a ghost, or shadow without substance; *cui bono*, and to what end did he so farce [stuff] it first with venom, only to scrape it out again; but it had been hard making that sermon to have tasted well, that was once so spiced, *quo semel est imbuta recens*, &c. But yet this very excuse is by himself overthrown again, confessing, that he meant to retain some of the most crafty malicious parts in it, as &c. §. [See the MS.]

The only question that remains then is, whether it may be verified and proved, that, by the publishing of this sermon, or rather libel of his, he compassed or imagined the king's death? which I prove he did, by this reason; had he compiled a sermon upon any other ground, or stuffed the bulk of it with any other matter, and only powdered it, here and there, with some passages of reprehension of the king; or had he never so bitterly railed against the king, and upbraided him of any two or three, though monstrous vices, it might yet have been some way excusable; or yet had he spewed forth all the venom that is in this libel of his, in a railing speech, either in drunkenness, or upon the occasion of any sudden passion or discontentment, it might likewise have been excused in some sort; but, upon the one part, to

cap up all the injuries that the hearts of men, or
malice of the devil, can invent against the king,
to disable him, utterly, not to be a king, not to be
Christian, not to be a man, or a reasonable crea-
ture, not worthy of breath here, nor salvation
hereafter; and, upon the other part, not to do
this hastily or rashly, but after long premeditati-
on, first having made collections in scattered pa-
pers, and then reduced it to a method, in a formal
treatise, a text chosen for the purpose, a prayer
premitted, applying all his wits to bring out of
that text what he could, *in malam partem*, against
the king. This, I say, is a plain proof that he in-
tended to compass or imagine, by this means, the
king's destruction. For, will ye look upon the per-
son or quality of the man, it was the far likeliest
means he could use to bring his wicked intention
to pass; his person an old unable and unweildy
man; his quality a minister, a preacher, and that
in so remote a part of the country, as he had no
more means of access to the king's person, than
he had ability of body, or resolution of spirit, to
act such a desperate attempt with his own hands
upon him; and, therefore, as every creature is
ablest, in their own element, either to defend them-
selves, or annoy their adversaries, as [birds] in the
air, fishes in the waters, and so forth, what so rea-
dy and natural means had he whereby to annoy
the king, as by publishing such a seditious libel,
and so, under the specious pretext of conscience,
to inflame the hearts of the people against him.
Now, here is no illation nor inference made upon

the statute; it stands *in puris naturalibus*, but only a just inference and probation of the guilty intention of this party. So the only thing the judge can doubt of, is, of the delinquent's intention; and then the question will be, whether if these reasons be stronger to enforce the guiltiness of his intention, or his bare denial to clear him, since nature teaches every man to defend his life as long as he may; and whether, in case there were a doubt herein, the judges should not rather incline to that side wherein all probability lies: but if judges will needs trust better the bare negative of an infamous delinquent, without expressing what other end he could probably have, than all the probabilities, or rather infallible consequences upon the other party, caring more for the safety of such a monster, than the preservation of a crown, in all ages following, whereupon depend the lives of many millions; happy then are all desperate and seditious knaves, but the fortune of this crown is more than miserable. *Quod Deus avertat!* *

* The manner of spelling used by King James, is so peculiar, that it was necessary to change it. The language, however, is preserved without any alteration. Some readers will be apt to think that a King ought not to employ his learning and his logic in enlarging the boundaries of high-treason. Here it may be fit to subjoin a passage from a MS. letter of Mr. Chamberlain, 23d February, 161⁴, quoted by Dr. Birch, in his collection of Bacon's letters, p. 47. "The King has had the opinion of the judges severally in

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p. 48.

THOMAS SHERLEY

TO

KING JAMES.

PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

FIRST to pardon my boldness, and then to vouchsafe to bow down your gracious eye upon this enclosed paper, wherein your Majesty may behold (if you please) the true anatomy of a most ruined poor gentleman; unless it will please your Highness (out of your princely benignity) to raise me out of the dust, and enable me, to do your Majesty better service than hitherto I have done: and this your Majesty may easily do, if you please, without any charge to you, only in forgiving me the seven thousand pounds, which is yet unpaid, to the Earl of Somerset, for my ransom from him;

"Peacham's case; and, it is said, that most of them concur to find it treason. Yet my Lord Chief Justice [Coke] is for the contrary; and if the Lord Hobart, that rides the West Circuit, can be drawn to jump with his colleague, the Chief Baron, [Tanfield,] it is thought he shall be sent down to be tried and trussed up in Somersetshire," probably, because the *overt* act of writing a libel was supposed to have been committed within that county. Peacham was condemned for high treason, 7th August, 1615, and died some months after in the jail at Taunton. Dr. Birch, *ibid.* p. 48.

E

whereby your Majesty may enable me to an estate able to live; and only give me that which you have formerly bestowed upon another, and I must pay out of my poor means, to mine utter ruin. It is the work of God to return this power into your Majesty's hand, that thereby I may be relieved, and freed from perdition.

And, for a conclusion, I do prostrate myself at your Majesty's feet, humbly beseeching, that my miserable suit be not the worse thought of, because I fly directly to your Highness, without any collateral means.

To your Majesty, I vowed my life and service twenty years since; to your Majesty's grace, I most humbly desire to be bound. And so, in all humility, I leave your Majesty to the protection of the Almighty, whom I do daily beseech long to preserve your royal life.

Your Majesty's

poorest servant and subject,

THOMAS SHERLEY.

The 21st of January, 1615.

* There were some very enterprising men of the family of Sherley. The most remarkable was Sir Anthony Sherley, either the father or the uncle of this Thomas; it would require a volume to make a just recital of all his projects and adventures.

A BRIEF OF SUCH THINGS AS I DO MOST
HUMBLY DESIRE YOUR MAJESTY TO
PLEASE TO TAKE INTO YOUR ROYAL
CONSIDERATION.

My late father and myself have (with all our
best endeavours) served your Majesty both in
the late Queen's time and sithence, to both our
great charges, and mine extreme peril.

Videlicet: At such time as the late Earl of Essex was executed, my Lord of Marr, my Lord of Kinlofs, now dead, and Sir David Foulis, were sent in embassage to the late Queen, these, in one conference, amongst divers others with my father and me, did greatly wish some good means to be found, to furnish your Majesty with a round sum of money.

Many debates there were to that purpose, and no likely way could be thought of, till I offered to hazard my life and estate, to attempt to take from the Turk (who is enemy to God and man) his treasure, and to lay it down, being taken, at your Majesty's feet. This project was allowed and liked.

Whereupon I rod post to Florence, and put myself into the service of that Duke, for the better countenance of my business, and to have a rendezvous where to refresh myself and my men.

At my return from thence I met Sir Thomas Erskine, now Lord Fentone, at Paris; and, by express command from your Majesty, I made relati-

on unto him of mine expedition in this business, who did well allow of it.

At his return into Scotland, at that time, he passed through England, and was twice at my father's house in the Black-friars, and did at both times spur on this enterprize.

Then I provided for it, and went to sea with five ships well furnished, and was overthrown by storms and contrary winds. After which I set out three ships, and with them I entered into the Streights.

Both these voyages cost my father fourteen thousand pounds (for which I am (yet) the poorer.) This charge I can prove by accompt.

In this latter, I was by my men betrayed, and taken prisoner by the Turks, where I continued three years in most unspeakable misery, such as I would not endure the like again for ten thousand pounds, as poor as I am.

Whilst I was in this barbarous captivity, the Queen died, and my father (God his pleasure being such) made the worst bargain with your Majesty that ever was, and such a one as no man living will make the like. He obtained from your Majesty one thousand pounds a-year, in parsonages, in fee farm, for which he doubled the rent, and bound the parsonages to pay one thousand pounds a-year for ever, and his land the other. These parsonages he sold all, and left my land bound to pay this surplussage of rent, without any comfort, but all the loss that this unhappy bargain yielded.

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My father (being a man of excellent and working wit) did find out the device for making of baronets, which brought to your Majesty's coffers well nigh a hundred thousand pounds, for which he was promised by the late Lord of Salisbury, Lord Treasurer, a good recompence, which he never had.

It (once) pleased your Majesty (in consideration of the great losses sustained by my father and myself) most graciously to give unto my father a grant of concealed alienations; by which means we both hoped to have recovered our great losses in the * _____

_____ when he was even ready to have received some benefit by it, the grant was taken from him by the violent instigation of the late Earl of Northampton.

When I returned home from my long and tedious captivity, your Majesty was graciously pleased to afford me good countenance, gracious words, and to pity and commiserate my miserable estate, but never gave me the worth of one groat.

When God pleased to take my father to his mercy, I went to the court with a purpose to become an humble suitor to your Majesty for a release of my rent-charge; then, the Earl of Somerset, being in great favour, crossed my suit, and begged it for himself.

With him I compounded, and have paid him

* There is a line or two illegible at this place.

70 SHERLEY'S MEMORIAL to K. JAMES.

the whole sum agreed, saving seven thousand pounds; for raising of which money already paid, I was forced to sell land at half the value, to mine utter undoing. He was greedy and earnest, and my land is subject to so many cross entanglements, as very few would buy any of it; and these few would not deal, but upon very unreasonable conditions.

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EARL OF PEMBROKE

TO

SIR EDWARD ZOUCH.

HONEST NED,

I KNOW you love your master dearly, and his pleasures, which makes me put you in trust with this business, myself not being able to stay in the town so late.

I pray you, therefore, as soon as it grows dark, fail not to send the close cart to Basingborn for the speckled sow ye saw the king take such liking unto this day; and let her be privately brought to the man of the ward-robe, by the same token, that I chid him for letting the other beasts go carelessly into the garden while it was day, and he will presently receive her into his charge. Some may think this a jest; but I assure you it is a matter of trust and confidence; and so, assuring myself of your secret and careful performance of it, I rest,

Your affectionate friend,

PEMBROKE.†

† This letter may be considered as a burlesque of the manners of some grave men, who are *secret* and *careful* about things of little more moment than the *speckled sow* that King James took such liking unto. The Editor understands, that some readers, have, from this letter, inferred that King James was guilty of practices most unnatural and brutish. Nothing but the spirit of party and prejudice, which sometimes perverts the most upright judgment, could have made such an inference.

MR. DU MOULIN
TO
KING JAMES.

SIRE,

JE loue Dieu de ce qu'il a conduit et adressé heureusement votre voyage, vous ayant ramené au lieu de votre demeure ordinaire. Durant l'esloignement de votre Majesté nous n'avons pas ici manqué d'exercice. Ceste court est semblable à la maison dont un esprit malin étant sorti, sept autres esprits pires que lui sont entrés en sa place. De sorte que nous avons sujet de souhaiter que ceux qui y sont entrés de nouveau y demeurent de peur que d'autres pires ne leur succèdent. Le Pere Cotton, ayant quitté la court par le commandement du Roy, a quitté la place à d'autres qui ne valent pas mieux : entr'autres à un Jesuite nommé Arnoux, fort ignorant, mais plein de venin et d'artifice, armé d'une eloquence theatrale, avec laquelle il nous deschire et noircit comme diables en presence du Roy. Un jour il s'avisa d'esplucher la confession de nos eglises devant le Roy, avec calomnies tendantes à sedition. Qui plus est, il nous a envoyé un abrégé de son sermon, par forme de deffi, au veu et par consentement du Roy. Auquel escrit nous avons respondu par un livre que j'ai donné a Monsieur votre ambassadeur, pour l'envoyer à votre Majesté. L'epistre de ce livre dédié au Roy a fait un grand esclat, pource que c'est un

chose inusitée, et une hardiesse sans exemple, d'oser parler au Roy de la religion. Le clergé a député vers le Roy des prelates, qui pour nous convaincre de sedition, ont, entre autres preuves, présenté au Roy, le Βασιλικὸν δῶρον de votre Majesté, où elle se plaint de quelques Puritains que l'ont persécutée devant sa naissance : et la dessus les gens du Roy ont fait contre nous des poursuites criminelles, dont le peuple étant en esmotion, le Roy pour empêcher que cela ne causast de l'alteration en son estat, a avoué l'affaire en son conseil. Où nous avons été appelés tous quatre pour défendre notre cause : Là, en plein conseil, Monsieur le Chancelier, nous a fait une longue remontrance dont la somme estoit : Que notre epistre avoit donné au Roy sujet de s'offenser. Que nous pouvons en nos predications et livres parler de notre religion ; mais, que le Roy ne trouve pas bon, qu'on sollicite sa conscience. Qu'en ceste epistre nous appellions nos Rois, persécuteurs. Que nous renouvelions la memoire des maux passés, que l'edict du Roy commande d'affoupir. Que insolement et contre verité nous nous y vantons d'avoir seuls mis la couronne sur la teste du feu Roy. Que nous y appellions nos eglises *nos peuples*, comme si nous estions princes. Que nous taschons de mettre le Roy en mauvais mesnage avec le Pape, lequel si nous ne voulons reconnoître en autre qualité, au moins est il un grand Prince et ami du Roy. Que si nous voulons nous enquerir de l'ambassadeur du Roy de la Grande Bretagne, nous pourrons apprendre que sitost qu'il se plaint de quelque e,

scrit ou le Roy son maitre est offensé, incontinent on lui donne contentement. Pour lesquelles causes, il nous declara, que le Roy nous defendoit de lui adresser aucun livre ni epistre sans l'avoir premierement communiquée a son conseil.

A quoi apres les submissions requises, nous respondismes; qu'estant sujets du Roy nous pensions avoir la liberté de lui former nos plaintes quand on nous outrage en sa presence. Qu'en nostre epistre nous ne nommons point nos Rois persecuteurs, mais que seulement nous disons que non obstant les persecutions que nous avons souffertes sous eux, nous leur sommes demeurés fideles. Ce que nous disons non par plainte, ni pour renouveler la memoire des maux passés, mais pour comparer nos comportemens avec ceux des Jesuites qui nous calomnient, lesquels apres tant de biens receus, ne laissent de soutenir que le Pape peut deposer le Roy, ausquels nous ne voyons point que pour cela on face aucune remonstrance. Que nous ne nous vantons pas d'avoir mis nous seuls la couronne sur la teste du Roy: mais seulement, que nous l'avons porté au Royaume a la pointe de l'espée: a quoi nous ne nions pas que plusieurs Catholiques Romains n'ayent contribué: mais qu'eux n'ayant pas faute de personnes qui parlent pour eux, nous nous sommes contentés de parler pour nous mesmes. Que ce mot, *nos peuples*, est une faute d'impression. Que nous sommes contents de recognoistre le Pape en qualité de prince, pourveu qu'il se veuille contenter de ceste qualité. Je commençois à dire que nous ne comparons pas votre

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Majesté avec le Pape, mais Mr. le Chancelier m'imposa silence, et nous falut fortir.

Peu de jours apres arrest a esté donné au conseil, par lequel nous est defendu de plus adresser aucun livre ou epistre au Roy, sans l'avoir au préalable communiquée au conseil.

Au mesme temps deux pirates Rochelois ayant esté rompus sur la roüe à Bordeaux, Mr. Cameron Escossois, ministre de Bordeaux, qui les avoit consolés au suppliance, en a escrit des lettres consolatoires, aux parents de ces criminels; esquelles il loue leur repentance et constance en la mort. Ces lettres, imprimées à la Rochelle, sont venues es mains de la cour de parlement de Bordeaux, qui les a fait brusler en public par la main du bourreau, comme si elles taschoient à faire deux martyrs de deux brigans, combien que à la verité il n'y a rien en ces lettres qui tende à cela.

Depuis huit jours un gentilhomme de qualité de la religion, nommé Beauvais St. Germain, a esté pris en sa maison, et mené à Moulins, où il a esté le mesme jour decapité contre toutes formes, et sans lui permettre la voye d'appel, par une estrange precipitation, sur une accusation de fausse monoye; dont ceux qui ont esté depuis executés apres lui l'ont deschargé; et cela en haine de sa religion. La Royne est toujours à Bloys, où elle est après à y establir les Jesuites. Les biens ecclesiastiques qui ont esté tenus par ceux de la religion il y a plus de cinquante ans au pays de Bearn, leur ont esté arrachés depuis peu de jours par arrest du conseil et ont esté rendus aux evesques et curés,

dont le pays est en grande esmeute; pour ce que les villes, et les garnisons, et les charges, et offices sont tenus par ceux de la religion, qui font demonstration de ne vouloir se deffaire de ce qu'ils possèdent, par la volonté et establisement fait [par] le feu Roy et par la Royne sa mere. Hier les gardes furent redoublées à Mr. le Prince sur un advertissement qu'on eut qu'il y avoit entreprise pour le tirer du prison. Voila, Sire, l'estat de nos affaires, par lequel votre Majesté cognoistra que Dieu ne nous laisse point sans exercice et sans crainte pour l'avenir. Parmi ces maux nous avons ce bien, que nostre jeune Roy n'est point porté de son naturel à la violence, et aime la justice, et commence à se faire craindre. Votre Majesté, qui lui sert d'exemple de vertu, et qui lui a tousjours suggeré des bons conseils et salutaires, lui servira aussi, moyennant la grace de Dieu, d'exemple de benedictions de Dieu et d'une longue prosperité. J'y porterai mes vœux, et demeurerai toute ma vie,

Sire, de votre Majesté

tres humble, et tres obeissant serviteur,

DU MOULIN.*

* This letter is addressed Au Roi, and yet Du Moulin did not mean to renounce his alledgeance to the King of France. The appeal made by the prelates of the Gallican church to the authority of King James's book, in order to blacken their own Puritans, is remarkable.

JOHN GORDON,
DEAN OF SALISBURY,
TO
KING JAMES

PLEASE YOUR GRACIOUS MAJESTY,

THAT John Sharpe, master of arts, hath been these five years in this country a preaching minister, wherein he hath behaved himself very well, and is now school-master in our clofe of Salisbury, where also he doth preach. And if your Majesty be remembered, he did present an oration and some verses unto your Majesty, the last time your Majesty was at Salisbury, who hath no hope of preferment, unless it be by your princely favour and gracious help. And because one of the prebends there would bestow his daughter on him, if your Majesty would be pleased to give him the vacation of his prebend, so humbly beseeching your Majesty to further such a good work, I pray God to bless your Majesty with all manner of blessing, spiritual and temporal.

Your Gracious Majesty's most humble,

obedient, and faithful servant,

JO. GORDON, DEC. SARUM.

QUEEN ANNE
OF DENMARK
TO THE
MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.†

ANNA R.

MY KIND DOG.

IF I have any power or credit with you, I pray you let me have a trial of it at this time, in dealing sincerely and earnestly with the King, that Sir Walter Raleigh's life may not be called in question. If you do it, so that the success answer my expectation, assure yourself that I will take it extraordinary kindly at your hands; and rest one that wilheth you well, and desires you to continue still, as you have been, a true servant to your master.

† The reader owes the publication of this singular paper to Dr. Charles Lyttleton, Bishop of Carlisle, who copied it from the original in the hands of Bishop Tanner, 1733. The character of Bishop Lyttleton affords sufficient evidence of its authenticity.

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K I N G J A M E S

TO

THE ARCHBISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS,
THE BISHOPS OF ABERDEEN, BRE-
CHIN, AND GALLOWAY, AND CER-
TAIN MINISTERS OF EDINBURGH.

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, RIGHT TRUSTY
AND WELL BELOVED COUNSELLOR, AND REVEREND
FATHERS IN GOD, AND RIGHT TRUSTY AND WELL
BELOVED, AND OTHERS OUR TRUSTY AND WELL
BELOVED, WE GREET YOU WELL,

WHEN we received and perused your letter, of
the 26th of February last, concerning the
graven work of wood intended for decorating of
our seat in our chapel at Halirudehouse, we were
at first afraid that some of the directors or work-
men had been Papists; and so, without our know-

* “ Among other directions sent from the King, one
“ was for repairing of the chapel; and some English car-
“ penters were employed, who brought with them the por-
“ traits of the apostles to be set in the pews or stalls. As
“ they were proceeding in their work, a foolish and idle
“ rumour went, that *images were to be set up in the cha-
“ pel*: and as people are given to speak the worst, it was
“ current among them that *the organs came first, now the
“ images, and ere long they should have the mass*. The
“ Bishop of Galloway, then Dean of the chapel, moved with

ledge, had intended there to erect such idolatrous images, and painted pictures, as those of that profession are in use to adore. But when we had better considered, and exactly tried what was done, we find but a false alarm, and that causeless fears had made you start at your own shadows. Yet seeing a change is commanded of that work, upon notice given to us, by the master of our works here, of the difficulty and langsumness [tediousness] thereof, lest our silence, and not answering of your letter, might be interpreted for a kind of consent or approbation of what ye write thereanent; and to the effect that the command of that alteration shall not be thought to have proceeded from any such conceit in us, as ye are possessed with, we have thought good hereby to certify you, that we were not induced thereto upon any such ground or consideration, but meerly because of the misdoubt conceived that the work could have been so well or so soon done in that kind, as in the form

“ these speeches, did pen a letter to the King, entreating his
 “ Majesty, for the offence that was taken, to stay the as-
 “ fixing of these portraits. To this letter he procured the
 “ subscriptions of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bi-
 “ shops of Aberdeen and Brechin, and divers of the mini-
 “ sters of Edinburgh.” *Spotiswood*. Book vii. p. 530.
 This Bishop of Aberdeen, Alexander Forbes, requested the
 King to write a letter to the President of the court of Ses-
 sion “ to be his *friend* in all his lawful actions.” i. e. suits
 of law. MS. Advocates Library.

THE ARCHBP. OF ST. ANDREWS, &c. 81

now directed; and therefore do not deceive yourselves with a vain imagination of any thing done therein for ease of your hearts, or ratifying your error in your judgment of that graven work, which is not of an idolatrous kind, like to images and painted pictures, adored and worshiped by Papists, but meerey intended for ornament and decoration of the place where we should sit, and might have been wrought as well with figures of lions, dragons, and devils, as with those of patriarchs and apostles. But as we must wonder at your ignorance, and teach you thus to distinguish between the one and the other, so are we perswaded, that none of you would have [been] scandalized or offended that the said figures of lions, dragons, and devils had been carved and put up in lieu of these of the patriarchs and apostles; resembling in this the Constable of Castile, who being sent here to swear the peace concluded between us and Spain, when he understood that this behoved to be solemnly performed in our chapel, he foresaw likewise that then some anthems would be sung; and therefore protested, before his entry of our chapel, that whatever was sung, God's name might not be used in it; and so as that were forborn was content that they should sing what else they listed. Ye could likewise endure the devil or monsters to be figured, for ornament of your churches, but cannot allow that patriarchs or apostles should have the like place or access therein, the very report whereof (as ye write) hath animated Papists, and so far grieved and offended all true profes-

fors, as ye are not able to expresse the offence taken thereat; Adding, that the like carved work is in none of our chapels here. But as we have said enough already to clear your error in the first, so to let you see your mistake in the last, these shall certify you that in our chapel here at Whitehall, and most part of all our other chapels in this kingdom, the like ornament is used; and even the apostles portraits to be seen so carved, and set up for adorning the same, though we never observed nor knew it till your letter gave us occasion to make trial and inform ourselves thereof. And truly we wonder, that at this time ye will so idly busy yourselves to find matter of scruple where there is none, when you have rather occasion to rejoice, and fill others with joy, for our so near approaching coming thither. Neither will we ever think that any good professor there will suspect, or suffer himself to be possessed with so ridiculous a conceit, as once to fancy that we will do any thing for encouragement of Papists, or introduction of any part of their idolatry in the churches of our dominions. For it is manifest to the world, that we have endeavoured nothing so seriously as to repress and stay the growth of Popery, to encourage true professors, and keep and confirm them in the profession of the truth, pure and free from all corruption, either of Papists or the other opposite; this we think no man will not acknowledge. And if what is else said will not suffice for perfect satisfaction, and clearing you of all doubts, in the above written points, we hope to bring to

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THE ARCHBP. OF ST. ANDREWS, &c. 83

that kingdom with us such as, by their knowledge and doctrine, shall resolve and persuade you, and all others of your coat and profession, that will not reject instruction, and remain blind in a wilful ignorance, of the undoubted warrant of these and the like points. And whereas ye write that the bringing in of organs was hardly taken at first, by many of our people, but that ye knowing our pleasure was such, and the indifferency thereof had made them that offended to be quiet, we must pray you to excuse us, if we give you not thanks for so singular a piece of good service, as no doubt ye conceive that to be; and would fain know if our actions have so grieved or estranged our peoples affections, as that therefore we have need of your mediation between us and them. No, sure; for they have experience of our favour, and we of their love, so as neither the one nor the other is to be doubted of. But by the way we cannot omit here the remembrance of the seventeenth day of December, and, by that day's experience, to tell you that as the pastor, not the people, is the cause of their misleading, so we doubt not to give them contentment; and that, at our being there, they will, in such points, rather trust us, and conform themselves to our so well warranted desires, nor the passion of any preacher there, of whatsoever degree. In conclusion, when you write hereafter, ye shall do well to weigh and understand better what you write, nor apparently ye have done in this purpose, and so we commit you to God. From our court at Whitehall, the 13th of March, 1617.

L O R D B I N N I N G,
S E C R E T A R Y O F S T A T E,
T O
K I N G J A M E S.†

M O S T S A C R E D S O V E R E I G N,

IN the assembly, now dissolved, nothing was proposed, but the articles sent by your Majesty, an great part of the ministers were so willfully inclined to have the hail [whole] deferred at this time, to the effect they might have leisure and opportunity, by-reading the fathers and councils, to resolve if, with good conscience, and without scandal of inconstancy to the kirk and themselves, they might yield to the alterations and novelties which they imagined the articles to imply: That it was very difficult to my Lords of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and remanent Bishops, assisted by the wisest and learnedest of the ministry, and your Majesty's commissioners, to induce the disordered multitude, and their leaders, to determine upon any particular. And so being driven to the extremity either to dissolve the assembly, without any manner of progress, and with manifest dissention, or to make use of the best expedient the time could produce, in the determination of some of the articles, all the best affected to your Majesty's service thought

† See Spotiswood. Book vii. page 535.

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it expedient to accept what wisdom and authority could gain at this time, and leave the rest under hope, and promise of satisfaction at the next assembly; and so the article of giving the communion to the impotent and dangerous sick, in their private houses, and delivery of the elements out of the minister's hands to the people, at the public celebration, being obtained in such manner as the formed articles, to be sent to your Majesty be my Lord of St. Andrews, bear; when the article of the holy-days was of new urged, the desire of delay was so universal, in that and the rest of the propositions, that the bishops were forced, for fear of a direct refusal, to yield to the continuation, upon promise, made by the most part of the pretended precisians, that they would use all possible endeavours to prepare themselves, with consent of their well informed flocks, to give your Majesty satisfaction at the next assembly. My Lord of St. Andrews' fear of your Majesty's offence, by delay of your so just and godly desires, made him so passionately instant as he could scarcely be induced, by any persuasion, to accept any doubtful or dilatory answer; and moved him to threaten them with your Majesty's resolution, to ordain by acts and penal proclamations, against the contraveeners, to have all these articles undelayedly obeyed; shewing to them how disgraceful it would be to the kirk of Scotland, in the judgment of all the reformed churches in Europe, that our ignorant and obstinate refusal of so godly and lawful propositions should force your Majesty, by your

Christian authority, to compel them to do that which their duty should have moved them to embrace, with thankful acknowledgment of your Majesty's care to have the abuses of our church discipline reformed, and rightly conformed to the universal order of all the rest of the true Christian churches in Europe. But the rest thinking [thought] the delay, with assured hope of satisfaction, less hurtful nor [than] an abrupt and contradictory dissolution; which we all most humbly wish that your Majesty may graciously allow, since we are confidently persuaded that the next meeting shall give your Majesty contentment, specially if your Majesty grace the next assembly with commissioners of greater sufficiency and authority; albeit I may affirm, and hope the bishops will testify, that these who were at this time employed wanted no good will to give their best concurrence. So wishing to your Majesty many happy years, that we may enjoy the constant fruits of your most prudent and gracious reign, I rest

Your most Sacred Majesty's

most humble, faithful, and

obedient subject and servant,

BINNING*

St. Andrews, 28th Novemb.
at night, [1617.]

* Afterwards created Earl of Melrofs.

LORD BINNING,
 SECRETARY OF STATE,
 TO
 KING JAMES.†

MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN,

AT our coming to this town, finding that the most precise and wilfull Puritans were chosen commissioners, by many of the presbyteries, specially of Lothian and Fife, I was extremely doubtful of the success of your Majesty's religious and just desires. At the private meeting of your Majesty's commissioners, and the bishops, my Lord of St. Andrews denied not the apparent difficulty; but declared, that being hopeful that the happiness which always accompanied the justice of your royal designs, would not fail in this action, he thought the victory would be more perfect, and the obedience more hearty, when the Puritans should see the articles concluded in the presence of their greatest patrons, their opinions being confuted by lively reasons and undeniable truth.

The sermon before the assembly was made by the Bishop of Aberdeen, who with great dexterity proponed the weight of the purposes to be intreated, and the necessity of consideration, that the bo-

† See Spotiswood. Book vii. pag. 337—540.

dy of the church being assembled by your Royal direction, for treating of articles proponed by your Majesty, first to an number of the principal ministers at St. Andrews, and thereafter to the assembly at St. Andrews, your Majesty had conceived great offence for the delays then used; and being persuaded, in your excellent wisdom and conscience, that the articles were just and godly, and only shifted because they were proponed by your Majesty, by such as had gloried to be opposite to your sacred desires. It was to be feared, if, at this time, your Majesty should not receive satisfaction, your wrath might be so kindled, as the church losing your wonted fatherly favour, they might feel the heavy prejudice of that consequence. And therefore exhorted them, in humility, zeal, and Christian love, to dispose themselves to proceed wisely, and with all due respect to your Majesty.

At the meeting of the assembly the Archbishop of St. Andrews made the exhortation, and by an most godly and wise discourse remembered the auditors of your Majesty's infinite benefits to the church, your wisdom in their direction for keeping of purity, and suppressing Popery, your patrociny of the good, mercy to offenders of their profession, care for provision of maintenance to pastors, and learning and zeal in defence of the true religion, by your most famous works published against the adversaries, which had incensed the Papists to think your Majesty the only let of their prevailing, and for that only quarrel to seek, by treacherous means, the trouble of your estate and

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destruction of your sacred person; and the true professors, through all Europe, to honour your Majesty as the protector of all the reformed churches, and to acknowledge your Majesty the umpire, and most competent and best qualified judge, of all controversies arising among them; exhorting therefore every one to consider and acknowledge how justly they were bound to express their loyal respect and true obedience to your Majesty, by yielding to your lawful desires in the articles proponed.

The exhortation ended, he called the commissioners, and nominated these for the conference. Some proposd that an moderator might be chosen, whom he silenced, because he would not suffer the privilege of his place to be questioned; and therefore rehearsing what had been done in the assembly at St. Andrews, and wittily taking it *pro confesso*, that all the articles were in substance allowed there, except that of kneeling at the communion, proponed that to be disputed. Great instance was made that the matter, being of so high consequence, might be entreated in the public assembly; but the contrary was ordained. Difficulty was made anent [concerning] the conception of the words of the question; and the opposite urged, that reasons might be given why the article was necessary. It was answered, and concluded, that the article coming from your Majesty should be allowed, unless they could prove it was unlawful. So Mr. William Scott of Coupar, being commanded to speak, opposed against the article with

modesty and protestation, that he would be unwilling to adduce reasons to impugn an proposition coming from your Majesty; and thereafter, proceeding to his arguments, was seconded by Mr. John Carmichael, with more vehemence and wilfulness. They alledged, that the order presently observed in this country being agreeable to the word and Christ's institution, and they sworn, at their admission to the ministry, to observe the true religion and discipline received in this church, they could not with safe conscience alter it. Which being answered, they came to the substance of the question anent the manner of receiving; and spent the rest of that day, and an part of the next, in disputation upon that subject; nothing being omitted by the adversaries which their own inventions, or the writings of these who allow their opinion, could suggest, which being wisely and warily refuted by my Lord of Glasgow, whom Dr. Lindsay of Dundee, and Dr. Philp of Arbroath, Dr. Bruce, and some others of the best and most learned, did assist with many evident and pithy reasons, the article was ordained to be voted in the conference, and in end allowed, by so great odds of voices as gave wonderful contentment to all the well affected; yet the number of the vulgar ministers, having vote in the public assembly, being very great, our doubt rested what the event might be of that which depended upon the opinions of an multitude of ignorant or preoccupied people. For remedy whereof, my Lord of St. Andrews, who, in direction, disputation, and all other cir-

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cumstances of this action, expressed great wisdom, learning, and authority, well befitting his place, delayed the voting the second day, that he and his brethren might have some time to dispose things to an wished end.

This day the Bishop of Galloway made a very pertinent sermon to persuade the brethren to peace and edification; thereafter the assembly convening, new disturbances were casten in to renverse all that was done in the conference, and bring it of new to disputation, so as my Lord of St. Andrews was forced to permit all the articles to be of new reasoned; and if he had not, by very grave authority, reduced their discourse to distinct and formal reasoning it had been impossible to bring matters to any conclusion. Some oppositions made yesterday were this day repeated, and little of any substance added by such as were not of the conference, all which was judiciously and perspicuously refuted by my Lords of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and Doctors Lindsay and Philp, whose faithful and profitable endeavours merit your Majesty's gracious remembrance. If complaint be made by Mr. John Carmichael that I would not suffer him to enlarge his discourse of the antient controversy betwixt the Eastern and Western church, anent the precise and true day of Christ's birth, I must have recourse to your Majesty's mercy.

In end, my Lord of St. Andrews cutting short their affected shifts, whereby they intended either to disappoint the matter, or to persuade the af-

sembly to remit it to another meeting, he ordained this proposition only to be voted, Whether the assembly would obey your Majesty in admitting the articles proponed by your Majesty, or refuse them? Some insisted to have them severally voted. But both he and the Dean of Winchester (whose dilligence, discretion, council, and good assistance, in this service, have been faithfull and very commendable,) declared, that your Majesty would receive none, if all were not granted. And so being put to voting in these terms, fourscore and six allowed the articles, forty and one refused them, and three were *non liquet*.

My Lord of Scone *antiquum obtinet*, and will never *aberrare a via Regia*. My Lord Carnegie, the treasurer depute, advocate, Kilsyth, and Sir Andrew Car, have done that faithful duty which became them. The Earl of Lothian, the Lords Sanquhar, Ochiltree, and Boyd, did likewise attend, with an good number of honourable and well affected Barons. But the praise of the success being only due to the wisdom of your Majesty's directions, the worthiest instruments have been the two Archbishops, and the Bishops of Gallo-way and Aberdeen, and remanent of their estate, of whom none were negligent or remiss, but professedly resolved in the advancement of the action. Many ministers kythed [appeared] very dutiful both in reasoning and voting, but all these particulars I must remit to the Dean of Winchester's relation. Only assuring your Majesty, that albeit the contention was vehement, both in the

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conference and public assembly, yet after they were voted there appeared great contentment in many good mens faces, for the happy and peaceable approbation of your Majesty's articles. If your continual care of the good of this country and church move your Royal mind to intend hereafter any church matters, of such consequence, I beseech your Majesty, for the good of your own service, to employ an more fit commissioner in my place, who am as unskilful in these subjects as I am ungracious to the opposites. So thanking God for the blessed end of these affairs, and praying him that your Majesty may long live, and happily prevail in all your Royal enterprises, I rest

Your Majesty's most humble,

faithful, and bound servant,

BINNING.

Saint Johnston, [Perth,] the
27th of August, at night,
[1618.]

GEORGE GLAIDSTANES,
 ARCHBISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS,
 TO
 KING JAMES.

MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN, IT MAY PLEASE
 YOUR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

ALBEIT the bearer hereof, Mr. Patrick Lindsay, and Mr. Arthur Fethie, for whom he also takes dealing, have, by their honest and loyal service to your Highness, obtained such good liking and acceptance of your Majesty, as they need not the recommendation of any; yet I have taken boldness to give my testificate of their constant and unaltered prosecution of all your Majesty's services, in semblable manner, as they did when we had the fruition of your Majesty's most comfortable presence. Many do eye service, but these be affectioned and stout soldiers, and such as are requisite for the Metropolitan of North Britain, who cannot fight but an back, [without being backed,] as your Majesty knows. The mean suit they are to propone to your Highness, will be an encouragement to continue them in their wonted fidelity and forwardness, rather than the just value of their service. I will not impeche [trouble] your Majesty with the repetition of these instructions anent the communion service, committing the same to your Majesty's royal solicitude, and

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to my Lord of Glasgow his sufficiency; only this, if any, by importunity, have purchased reservations, whereby your Majesty's princely design will be stained, and we made rather notional than real Bishops, that it would please your Majesty to discharge the same, for it will be needless to buy this work from any more. All are ready to obtemper your Majesty's direction in this behalf, who are of any moment. Mr. Andrew Melvin hath begun to raise new storms with his Eolick blasts. SIR, You are my Jupiter, and I, under your Highness, Neptune. I must say,

Non illi imperium pelagi, sacrumque tridentem

Sed mihi forte datum ———

Your Majesty will relegate him to some Aeolia

———*ut illic vacua se jactet in aula.*

Thus the Eternal preserve your Majesty's most royal person and estate for ever. I remain

Your Majesty's

most humble servitor,

SANCTANDROIS.

Edinburgh, 19th Junii.

COUNTESS OF DORSET

TO

K I N G J A M E S.

MY MOST DEAR SOVEREIGN,

MAY it please your Majesty to give me leave to let you understand how my causes go in my continued afflictions.

In your Majesty's name, I was the second time committed to prison, not yet knowing the cause of that commitment, and still remain debarred, not only of your presence, but of the Queen's and the Prince's also, not being able to conceive the cause: and yet, whereas by the princely word of your Majesty, proceeding from your own mouth, I should have had 1600*l.* yearly for my maintenance, in my late husband's days, I cannot yet obtain one penny thereof; although I have been ever since in a chargeable suit for the same; and unless it shall please your Majesty to signify to my Lord Chancellor, that it was your pleasure (which I trust your Majesty doth remember) that I should enjoy so much, my counsel inform me, that I have no way but that only to recover it.

If the greatest enemy I have, can prove, that by any faults committed by me, either in breach of my vows to my husband, or offence to your Majesty, or any your laws, I did deserve so great afflictions, as to be debarred of meat, drink, and other necessaries for the sustenance of my life,

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COUNTESS OF DORSET TO K. JAMES. 97

in my husband's time, I intreat no favour herein; and therefore (no such thing to be proved) I will ever most humbly seek justice at your Majesty's hands, where I assure myself to find it.

Touching the suits for my dowry: I am now with exceeding much ado your Majesty's sworn widow; * and, therefore, am much comforted to remember, that your Majesty took an oath to Almighty God, at your coronation, to defend and protect me in my just causes, your Majesty having none other yet but myself in this your kingdom; neither hath the like been in the whole reigns of Queen Elifabeth, Queen Mary, or King Edward, as I can possibly find with my great charges and labour; and, therefore, now most humbly beseech your Majesty to make me so much bound unto you, as command my Lord Chancellor, and my Lord Treasurer, without farder delay, to suffer me to enjoy the benefit of your most princely prerogative, according to your Majesty's laws provided in that behalf. And if I had known, or might have been suffered to have taken my oath, to have been your Majesty's widow (which I often tendered in your Majesty's courts personally) I might

* *Vidua Regis* dicitur relicta ejus qui de rege tenet in capite, hoc est, de coronâ suâ *Regisque* adeo *vidua* nuncupata est, quod sine regis licentiâ ad secundas nuptias non transeat, quin et dotem impetret ex regia assignatione, regemque habeat patronum et defensorem. *Spelman Gloss.* voc. *Vidua Regis*.

48 COUNTESS OF DORSET TO K. JAMES.

have been as near the obtaining of my dowry a year since as now.

And if still the like courses be offered (as have been carried against me in all my suits) give me leave, most Dread Sovereign, to relate them unto you, that your Majesty, knowing them truly, may not only relieve me, but others that may happen to taste the like miseries, by the like delays.

And so I will ever pray unto the Almighty, upon the knees of my soul, that he will always direct your heart to trust only those whom your Majesty shall find loyal and faithful: and so careful to see your Majesty's laws duly executed, as neither favour nor affection may bias or pervert their proceedings therein, to the safety of your Majesty, and all yours, and to the joy and comfort of your loving subjects in all your kingdoms.

In all humbleness,

your Majesty's sworn widow,

AN. DORSET.

Because your Majesty is not at leisure to hear me yourself, I will go and impart some matters to my Lord of Canterbury, hoping he will truly acquaint your Majesty therewith.

SIR HENRY YELVERTON,
ATTORNEY-GENERAL,

TO

MR. JOHN MURRAY
OF THE BED-CHAMBER.

HONOURABLE SIR,

I RECEIVED from Mr. Chancellor of the exchequer an answer drawn to your petition, concerning the old debts, wherein he would have me join with him. He was earnest for the return thereof to him, but I thought I would give no consent thereto, till you had seen it; I therefore stole so much time as to scribble it forth, and send you account of it, which will not please you; for there is nothing in it for good for you, or gainful to you. I have sent it him back, without consent, and have with a little ink signified some disallowances. He thinks he hath done you much kindness, which you know best if it be so. You know his double disposition, to be both full of delays, before he doth any thing, and full of resolution, when he conceives a thing, not to alter it. I find by some of my honourable friends, some lords, some ladies, that this vote of the London charter, and of my prosecution for it, hath been in council and determination long, and that the great Marquis † hath it under his Majesty's hand:

† Buckingham.

First, That he gave no warrant to me for the granting of any new liberties to the city. Secondly, That having been oft informed by Sir Edward Coke in private, when none but the marquis was present, that what was done was without warrant, and to the great loss of his Majesty; that I shall not only be cast out of my place, but his Majesty hath also promised liberty for my being called into Star-Chamber. I confess I shall be one of the last shall believe this, it doth so much transform my master from that habit of mercy, grace, and respect, he hath ever shewed me; but if the importunity of the great man hath gained so much on his Majesty's affection, as to let so severe justice fly upon so well an affected and true-hearted servant as I have been, I will bemoan my misfortune in secret, and humbly bear what he shall inflict, though I shall be the first that ever was brought to a king's service, afflicted all the time I served, and then be laid upon the wheel, as a reward for my time spent, which yet I thank God hath wholly been for his Majesty, and not for myself. "Let not these things trouble you; for it is told me such things will come, and are near coming." God's will and his Majesty's be done; for it is told me the gibbet is appointed before I be heard. And, when I was on Friday last called before the Lords, Sir Edward Coke told me he had been a suitor to his Majesty, that he might have been none of the commissioners; but his Majesty would force him against his desire to be one, which shews some face of a great intended prosecution, the rather because

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he was then in no small jollity. And your letter, which I received late yesternight (for which I thank you) importeth much cause of fear, when the commissioners have already reported, that neither my second warrant, which I shewed them, is sufficient for what is done, nor that they themselves are in any sort satisfied; which report of theirs meaneth no good to me; but as I am resolved, in the end, be it never so heavy, so my own conscience clear-eth me, that all my proceedings have been faithful and honest.

The commissioners hereby seem to prejudge his Majesty that signed the warrant; but I am inclosed among such a company as have waited long my overthrow; for I am ignorant what warrant can be better, than when his Majesty saith, what course soever I shall settle between the city and him, shall be well liking to him. Now, the course I settled was this, to confirm their old liberties, and to give them some small additions of new liberties for better government, so as if this warrant serve me not, nothing could; for it is general. Secondly, Leaveth the course to be taken to my discretion. Thirdly, Promiseth an approbation to what I shall do; and when some of the lords, as my Lord Arundel and Sir Edward Coke, said to me, that warrant was not enough, I answered, I thought it was; and his Majesty, and not they, must judge it. Howsoever, I said, it could be made no error, but by construction, they construing it one way, and I another; at the most, it is but a fault of ignorance in my misconstruing the

king's meaning secretly implied in those general words, and no advised or purposed error. I told them likewise, I had warrant from his Majesty by word of mouth; for, in truth, at Whitehall, when I attended him about this service, and he was pleased in special at your motion and mine, to say he would have the wastes and encroachments of the city confirmed to them, though at the time he was offered 30000 l. by a great lord for them. I then proposed to him the first particular liberty they desired, which was to have him that shall be Mayor the next year, justice of peace the year before, that he might be a little trained up in government before he took it upon him, which his Majesty then approved; and I farther saying, they desired some other petty matters, he left them to my discretion, wherein I hope his Majesty will not disavow me.

That which grieveth me most, is, the great noise this business maketh; for their so long and so often sitting, must make the world believe the Attorney is a great offender.

I had hoped that his Majesty would have taken a shorter course, as to have heard their objections and my answers in writing, which had soon been set down, but the policy of the Lords is otherwise, to which his Majesty giving way, I must and do humbly and willingly submit.

The lords, when I was last before them, touched no particular fault in the charter, but asked divers other questions, which I answered, and I had thought they had sent them to the king; so would

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I have been glad from you to have known how his Majesty took them.

I confess, I being unacquainted with these kind of attendances, and knowing my innocency, cannot but much be troubled, to see the snare laid for me, out of spleen, and much more to see my master thus destitute me, and giving power to them to load me with what disgraces they can invent; and you know Sir Edward Coke wants not invention in this kind; for he can make moles beams.

I see the hand of God is in it; and I will wait his, and his Majesty's leisure, and let this act fall out either tragically or not. I shall desire to redeem my quiet with the loss and leaving of my place; for I can live contentedly with a fallad, where four herbs are not, rather than to bear the shew of a place, when others do so much shadow it. For the point of Bedlam, which you pointed at when I talked with you, it is as you said; but no loss to his Majesty; for king Henry the Eighth having made the mayor and commonalty perpetual governors, orderers, and disposers of the lands he had given to Bedlam, whereby they have ever since disposed them, and leased them at their pleasure, and the crown never meddled with them, nor could by the first intention of the king. Mr. Recorder desired that the lands themselves might now be passed to them: First, Because it was directly within their petition, to have the lands intended to them, assured to them. Secondly, Because they found much hurt in keeping them as they did; for if either any stranger wronged them

104 SIR H. YELVERTON to J. MURRAY.

in these provisions, or any tenant would not avoid at the end of his lease, they had no remedy by law to right these wrongs, so as the king losing nothing, and the city hereby being made owners, where before they were the only disposers of them. I hope it is directly within my warrant, and am sure the king, in honour, power, and profit, is as before.

I am sorry I offend so much in length; but it is because I would desire you may fully understand the business, and be a helper, as you may. For which I will ever rest,

Yours at command,

HENRY YELVERTON.

24th April, 1620.

SIR HENRY YELVERTON,
ATTORNEY-GENERAL,

TO

MR. JOHN MURRAY.
OF THE BED-CHAMBER.

HONOURABLE SIR,

I WAS before the lords yesterday, who examined Mr. Recorder, and others; I know not who they were. They also examined me of many particulars, but with a charge from his Majesty, not to discover to any whereupon I was examined; therefore must be silent. They also enjoin, that I shall not confer with Mr. Recorder, nor with the Solicitor of the city, whereby I am bereaved of much munition and arms I might otherwise have; for if my being too credulous to them have not brought forth some errors, I dare swear there is no hurt done. I would have been very glad I might know the particulars wherein they take his Majesty wronged, in honour, or in loss; for I know I could prove they cast their account amiss; and that by no wrested way it can appear, the loss to 40 sh. by year. Besides, if it were once discovered, wherein they found his Majesty pinched, the lord mayor and aldermen have this day sent me word they will humbly and gladly renounce all those particulars, and lay themselves at his Majesty's feet.

I must still tell you, the confidence of my enemies is great and joyful: and the breakfast a friend brought me this morning, was, that the Marquis* on Sunday said, he would make me the poorest attorney that ever was. I thank God, none of their spleen shall make me impatient. What tormenteth me, is, lest by this means they settle in his Majesty some opinion of my unfaithfulness, which will not so easily be recovered; which I suspect the more, because I find his Majesty hath been so long acquainted with this matter, and is so reserved to you, and me, and all other my friends: only my triumph is, that they shall never dare upbraid me with corruption or under-hand dealing.

If his Majesty would but make me so happy, that I might have the words in the charter set down, let me be made a wonder, if I do not fully satisfy all them that have not promised to themselves not to be satisfied; howbeit, herein is part of my misery, that these things be grounded wholly upon course of law, for drawing the books, and for choice of words and of covenants. There is none of the commissioners that understands law but Sir Edward Coke; and I fear he will be content to forget it, and translate it to a stranger sense in my case, than he would in the case of some others; for, you know, the sight of a white rag hung on a hedge, will make a whole herd of deer to stand at gaze.

But what his Majesty appoints, I humble my-

* Marquis of Buckingham.

self to it; and, so I were off the stage, I skill not who plays my part, if his Majesty be settled that I have not abused him, which I would not do for the city of London.

The lords will keep this from burning a long time, during which, I shall be like a lamp, with the light downward, that quencheth itself. I am glad I have so worthy a friend, my messenger; for, next his Majesty, I most trust in you two. So rest, distracted, unfit for any service, I am so encumbered with this burden I may not yet be suffered to ease myself of; yet shall ever rest,

Unfeignedly,

Your friend and servant,

H. YELVERTON.†

25th April, 1620.

† From this, and the preceding letter, the reader will perceive, how ill informed R. Johnstone was, in saying, "Yelvertonus se cum moderatione ac judicio defendit, invitum in donationes quas injuste inpetratas putaret, confessisse, atque crimen in mandatarios [mandantes] deputavit; quibus aut parendum, aut procurationis officium amittendum." *Rer. Brit. l. xviii. p. 559.*

THE EARL OF MELROS,
 SECRETARY OF STATE,
 TO
 KING JAMES.*

MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN,

THE nobility and council being conveened in this town, as they were appointed, upon the 25th of this month, they spent that day and the next in deliberation upon the best means to give humble and effectual satisfaction to your Majesty, in your desire of their supply to the defence of the Palatinate, the native patrimony of your Majesty's grand-children; and finding fundry things necessary to be proponed to your royal consideration, which they thought could not so conveniently be represented by letter, as by more ample relation of one of their number; the Archbishop of Saint Andrews being very instantly requested by them all to undertake that charge, which he could not well decline, has resolved not to lose any time, but has already begun his journey towards court, least delay might have procured your Majesty's offence,

* This letter, and the following ones from the Earl of Melros, better known by the title of Earl of Hadington, are published to shew the manner in which public affairs were conducted in *Scottish* parliaments.

EARL OF MELROS TO KING JAMES. 109

and hindrance to that important and most necessary business, which all good subjects do zealously affect. Nothing will hinder the haste of his passage, unless the extremity of evil weather or sickness disable him to end it so speedily as he earnestly intends. If your Majesty be graciously pleased to suspend your resolution till his coming to court, your Majesty may be assured, that he will either propound the means which your Majesty will approve, or if any other course be unalterably determined by your Majesty, at his return, your Majesty's pleasure being signified to the nobility and council, I verily hope it shall be obeyed to the uttermost of their abilities, which I humbly remit to your gracious consideration. And earnestly praying God long to preserve your Majesty's life, health, and prosperity, which assure the accomplishment of all the wishes of your subjects for their perfect wealth and peace, I rest,

Your most sacred Majesty's

most humble, faithful,

and ever bound servant and subject,

MELROS.

Edinburgh, 29th January,
1621.

EARL OF MELROS,
SECRETARY OF STATE,
TO
KING JAMES.

MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN,

THE Lords Chancellor, Treasurer, and I, according to the commandment of your Majesty's letter to us, met with the Lord Archbishop of Saint Andrews, and advised upon the matters mentioned in the letter, and others related by him to us by your Majesty's direction; and agreed, in uniform opinion, that we could noway presume to nominate a commissioner to your Majesty. Your own experience and knowledge of the noblemens sufficiency and dispositions, and your incomparable wisdom, being only able to make the fittest choice; so that we can meddle no farther in that point, but humbly to pray your Majesty, to consider, that the person to be trusted with that weighty charge, must, in the honourable exercise thereof, be forced to be at great expences, and so will need some relief from your royal bounty.

Anent [Concerning] the sum of the contribution, we could proceed no further, but to conclude, that we must all study to extend it to the greatest quantity that the country can bear; and, for that purpose, to prepare all with whom we can have opportunity to confer before the parliament,

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EARL OF MELROS TO KING JAMES. 171

to yield to the highest rate, and to persuade others to do the like; and to force the best reasons and means, that may induce every estate to a very large contribution, according to our assured good hopes.

We reasoned upon the form of the imposition, and of the manner of payment thereof, not forgetting the large help which may be exacted of the wealthier sort, which heretofore have been free of all taxations, they neither being churchmen, landed men, nor burgessees, neither could it be well seen how they might be brought under the necessity of contribution. For removing this doubt, I proponed, that the ordinary taxation, being granted in large quantity, might be imposed upon the estates in the accustomed manner; and an act of parliament obtained, ordaining that the wealthy annual-renters should contribute to the supply of your Majesty's most important and necessary present affairs; for which effect, commission should be given to a selected number, to call and tax them to a reasonable proportion of subsidy, according to their stock and rent; and to summon them, by open proclamation, to compare at a certain day, to give up a true declaration of the sums for which they received annualrent, by indentment, bond, or other security whatsoever; and, if need was, upon denial, to put them to oath, or to prove against them by writ; with certification, that all the sums concealed by them shall be confiscated to your Majesty, whenever they should be discovered; and if the debtor would delate them, he should be free of the third of his debt, for his

pains, he paying to your Majesty the two part thereof, which the lords consented to : and if this course receive your Majesty's approbation, it shall be proponed, and carefully prosecuted.

It was thought by us, that your Majesty's discharge of bypast contraventions of the penal statutes will greatly encourage the people, now standing in fear of vexation, by reports of some mens intentions to beg warrants to trouble the subjects by such pursuits, to grant the more willingly to a large taxation ; and that much more may be expected, if it shall be allowed to come in at sundry terms, nor [than] if it shall be pressed to be paid all at one diet. [term.]

My Lord of Saint Andrews told me, that your Majesty had directed him, to command me, to send up a warrant for appointing a commissioner, which I send herewith ; and that I should also send the frame of a letter to be directed to the estates, which I have likewise obeyed, but with just fear that the prolixity may offend your Majesty ; and that more shall be found in it to delete or alter, nor [than] to be allowed ; but I shall hope that your Majesty's accustomed grace and bounty to me shall procure my faithful obedience to be accepted for sacrifice ; and, thank God, that I have a royal master, excellent above all other in well-doing, speaking, and writing, to pardon, cover, and amend my defects : and, as in France, their king is accounted the first secretary of estate, and has assigned to him (as they term it,) *la premiere bourse* of their fees ; so I am assured, that when all the best secretaries of the

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world shall be convey'd, they will be found inferior to your Majesty in the skill of their own profession; and I being one of the most incapable, must regret and excuse my errors, with the misfortune of wanting the happiness of your Majesty's particular directions, and still have recourse to your Majesty's gracious and benign construction, which, with innumerable other benefits and favours, shall make me incessantly to beseech God, to continue his blessings to your Majesty's subjects, by your long and happy life, and ever to comfort and strengthen your royal mind with the prosperous success of your princely enterprizes, and accomplishment of your desires.

Your Majesty's

most humble, faithful,

and eternally bound servant,

MELROS.

Edinburgh, 29th March,

1621.

H

K I N G J A M E S.
T O
THE PARLIAMENT OF SCOTLAND.
J A M E S R.

RIGHT REVEREND FATHERS IN GOD, OUR RIGHT
TRUSTY AND WELL BELOVED COUNSELLORS, AND
RIGHT TRUSTY AND WELL BELOVED COUSINS AND
COUNSELLORS, AND OTHERS OUR TRUSTY AND
WELL BELOVED SUBJECTS, COMMISSIONERS FOR
THE SMALL BURROWS IN OUR PARLIAMENT NOW
ASSEMBLED, WE GREET YOU HEARTILY WELL.

O UR longer exercise in the school of experience
nor [than] any Christian prince now living,
having taught us, that the licentious life of man
doth not breed more new and dangerous diseases
in the body, nor [than] his corrupt affections pro-
duceth daily new disorders in the state, which
more necessarily require speedy cure from the care
and wisdom of the prince, nor [than] bodily in-
firmities need the help of faithful and skilful phy-
sicians. We were thereby possessed with an ear-
nest desire and resolution, to have this year, in
our own person, kept our parliament in that our
kingdom, that so we might have rather seen nor
[than] heard the desires of our loving subjects,
and they feel the accustomed fruits of our fatherly
care of their good. But the combustions of
Christendom (to which many, out of cruel and
malicious intentions, add oil, and few have either

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K. JAMES TO THE SCOTS PARLIAMENT. 115

such care or credit for quenching thereof as our-
self) have forced us to prefer the necessity of pro-
curing the peace of Europe, and safety of the pro-
fessors of true religion, mercileſſy persecuted by
greatest powers, to our own weightiest affairs, and
most earnest desires; and, nevertheless, lest the
progress of disorders, and delay of their redress,
might make the disease dangerous, if not despe-
rate, before our being there, (which we undoubt-
edly intend by God's grace this next year,) we
have directed our right trusty and right well be-
loved cousin and counsellor, the Marquis of Ha-
milton, as our commissioner, to supply our absence
in this present parliament, which our nobility and
council, by their several letters, have earnestly re-
quested us to indict this present year; and have
commanded him to signify to you, that the chief
cause of his employment, is, to give consent, in
our name, to the redress of such disorders as ye
shall propone, requiring present reformation; and
to declare to you our pleasure anent [concerning]
the expediting of such acts, as we (out of our na-
tural and wonted zeal to religion and justice) have
thought expedient for good order and policy both
in the church and estate. We have also directed
him to make known to our estates, the present
condition, not only of our own affairs, but also
of foreign princes and states, and with what in-
cessant solicitude we have dealt with the ambassa-
dors of neighbour princes and republics resident
at our court, to procure free and safe exercise of
religion to these that are joined with us in profes-

sion of the true gospel, and restitution of their estates, forcibly usurped by their powerful neighbours, and have performed the like offices by our ordinary and extraordinary ambassadors, sent, at our infinite charges, to the most part of the princes and states of Christendom; wherein, albeit conjunction in religion has been our chief respect, yet the distressed estate of our son-in-law, adding an particular interest of nature and honour, has compelled us to bestow excessive sums of money, both for the charges of his maintenance, and of our dearest daughter, and of their many hopeful children, and likewise for the Electrix dowager his mother, since the power of their enemies, having dispossessed them of the greatest part of their patrimony, has forced them, for their safety, to retire to the Low Countries. How extraordinary these burdens are to us, hardly can any man consider; but every man knoweth that it is impossible to bear them, without the large help of faithful subjects well affected to our just courses. It is almost a year since we signified to our nobility and council, the necessity of their supply in this urgent occasion, whose answers, by their letters to be read to you, will express the cause of the delays, and assurance of their affections. We have heard of late, that some, either not well affected to the cause, or ignorant of the true state of affairs, have travelled to possess our people with an opinion, that, since by treves procured by us, the charges of war are diminished, that there is little need of contribution: but faithful subjects will wisely con-

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sider how exorbitant our bypast charges have been,
 and how excessive our debt contracted upon that
 necessity is, and how it daily grows by the num-
 bers of ambassadors sent by us to all princes, and
 that the debt must either be repaid, or our credit
 and honour so wounded, as when we shall have
 most to do, we shall find no such supply as the
 surety of our subjects and estates may require.
 Some there are, that dare say, that we, being in
 peace with our neighbour princes, have no need
 to furnish charges to the wars of others, whom we
 take to be no better than traitors and atheists*;
 for since the war doth in a part concern our son-
 in-law, and our grand-children, we must disclaim
 nature, if we shall not partake of that war, if, by
 our mediation, we shall not procure their peace
 and restitution of their estates: besides, that reli-
 gion being assaulted by that war, and the wars in
 France and the Low Countries, must we not con-
 fess, that if they continue and grow, *nostra agitur
 tunc res paries cum proximus ardet*. Others, more
 heady, are bold to say, that their contribution
 would have been more ready, if in time we had
 embraced the war, who merit no other answer,
 but *dulce bellum inexpertis, et nullum bellum justum
 nisi quod necessarium*; and since peace must be the
 end of war, princes have ever been thought more
 wise and just who have entertained peace, and pre-
 vented, and in time pacified wars, nor [than] such,
 as after the desolations of that scourge of God's

* Never was the term ATHEIST so oddly applied.

wrath have not thought of peace till destruction of men by sword, pest, and famine, the devastations of towns, churches, and whole countries, the violated chastity of women of all sorts and ages, and the blood of sucking babes, had polluted, desolated, and dispeopled the land of men, goods, and all things necessary for human society, and so disabled those brutish princes, born for the mischief of mankind, longer to prosecute the unbridled and unbounded malice of their avaritious and ambitious minds. The last assault given to the good affections of our subjects, is, the representing of the poverty of that our kingdom, and scarcity of monies, whereof we are sorry, and have directed our Commissioner to concur with you in the means of remedy thereof, willing you to consider, that it is not so much the importance of the sums which ye are able to contribute that we respect, as the trial of your affections; and that your straining yourselves to your uttermost abilities, may give example to your neighbours of greater wealth to do the like in their due proportion. When ye shall weigh the necessity of the causes of our desires, the importance of the affairs both for religion and state, and shall remember what obligations of retribution are imposed upon you, by our many graces, favours, and liberalities, not only to the most part of all the subjects of that our kingdom in their particular, but to every state and whole body of the kingdom in general, we are confident, that at this occasion (more necessary than any other that ever occurred in our life) ye will

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THE PARLIAMENT OF SCOTLAND. 119

increase your wonted contribution as the state of the affairs requires, and as ye are bound to us, who, for your safety and peace, incline to the counsel given by the oracle to Philip of Macedon, to make wars with money, which is rather to prevent and quench wars with great charges, nor [than] unnecessarily maintain it with incomprehensible harms incident to that pest. Many other things, concerning our affairs and your good, are by our direction to be imparted to you by our said Commissioner, whom we require you to trust and to respect, as one who being near to our person, and acquainted with our affairs, and good intentions, hath seemed most fit to us for the present charge; and, as by him we shall know your proceedings, we shall remember and reward your duties according to your deservings; which we hope and wish to prove, according to our designs and dealings toward you; and so bid you heartily farewell.

Given at our mannor of Theobalds the 13th
of July, 1621.

EARL OF MELROS,
SECRETARY OF STATE,
TO
KING JAMES.

MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN,

N ECESSARY duty commands me to give your Majesty advertisement of the proceeding of matters concerning your Majesty's parliament, of this your Majesty's kingdom; and my exercise therein, refusing me leisure to do it orderly, forces me to beg your Majesty's gracious pardon, rather to do it in rude form and stile, nor [than] by curiosity of those, to neglect any points of substance. The Marquis of Hamilton, your Majesty's commissioner came to Edinburgh, upon the 18th of this month, and met no sooner some noblemen and barons upon his way, but, after interchanged courtesies, he began to require their assistance in his charge of your Majesty's service. The next day he conferred with the Dean of Winchester, and Archbishop of St. Andrews, of church matters, and others, concerning your royal directions in parliament, and then met with some few of your most trusted officers and counsellors: and lest the rest of the council and nobility should suspect that conclusions were made by a few number, and they neglected, he convened them all upon Saturday, and by their advice, resolved upon the time of sen-

EARL OF MELROS TO KING JAMES. 121

cing [constituting] the parliament, day of the riding of the estates, and course to be kept for preventing contentions, trouble or disorders; upon Sunday in the afternoon, and Monday, he continued his dealing with particular men of every estate, and specially the noblemen, whose favour he pressed to conciliate, by hearty conversation and feasting; but, hearing upon Monday afternoon, that a mad minister of Morton, called Simpson, had made a foolish and malicious sermon in the Gray-friars church of this town, upon Sunday in the afternoon, and that Mr. Andrew Duncan, sometime minister of Crail, and, for sundry contempts done to the bishops, now deprived, had given to the clerk of register a supplication to have been presented to the parliament, impugning, in effect, the articles of the assembly of Perth; whom two ministers, the Archbishop of St. Andrews and I caused to be apprehended by the captain of the guard; your Majesty's Commissioner did presently convene the council, where they were accused, and, upon notoriety of their offences, were presently sent prisoners to the castle of Dumbarton; and, upon knowledge that the commissioners of the Burrows had assembled themselves for affairs concerning their estate, and that some nine or ten ministers had importunately obtained entry and audience of them, and exhorted them not to allow in parliament the articles of Perth, offering to read and deliver to them their supplication and protestation like to that other given by Mr. Andrew Duncan to the clerk of register, your Majesty's

Commissiſſioner, by advice of the council, ordained a proclamation to be made, declaring, that, upon knowledge had of the ſeditious behaviour of ſome miniſters, who, to the ſcandal of their profeſſion, having left their flocks and due charge, were come to Edinburgh, to ſtir ſedition, and trouble the courſe juſtly intended by your Maſteſty for the good of the eſtate and church; therefore they were all commanded to void the town, and return to their charge (except ſuch, as verifying to their ordinarys the lawfulness and neceſſity of their affairs, ſhould obtain their licence to remain) under the pain of horning and preſent imprifonment; which being publiſhed, hath freed the town and eſtates of that tumultuous crew. Upon the 25th, the eſtates being ready to ride to the parliament-houſe, Langton ingyring [officiouſly preſenting] himſelf to take poſſeſſion of the office of uſher to your Maſteſty, which neither he nor any of his predeceſſors had enjoyed in any living man's memory, and being firſt requested, and thereafter charged, diſobeying both, was, for his contempt, ſent to the caſtle of Edinburgh. Immediately thereafter a contention aroſe between the Lords Hay and Keith, for their privileges in keeping and guarding the parliament-houſe, which being difficultly ſettled, the eſtates rode to the tolbooth in great number, and good order; being convened, your Maſteſty's commiſſion was read, and then the Archbiſhop of St. Andrews made an excellent ſermon, of the honour and obedience due by ſubjects to princes, of tribute and cuſtom to be paid to

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them; and expounded wittily the word *Reddite*, ascribing it to due and necessary payment, and not to giving, adducing the examples of Christ's own payment of tribute, and his mother's taking him in his cradle to Jerusalem, where the whole Jews were, by the law of God, commanded yearly to convene and pay tribute. He alledged many examples of the loss and ruin of kingdoms and estates for neglecting to contribute to supply the wars of their princes, and most notably the loss of Constantinople, and the empire of the Orient, applying all to the justice and necessity of your Majesty's present desire, which he amplified by all convenient circumstances. Last, he brought handsomely in the purpose of the church articles; and, amongst other reasons, proponed the acknowledgment contained in the first Confession of Faith made after the Reformation, ratified by act of parliament 1567, acknowledging that church discipline and rites could not be perpetually unchangeable, but were upon good considerations alterable, and so being indifferent; and the articles now introduced being lawful and expedient, needed no other warrant but the judgment of our King so religious, wise, learned, and just, as the world had not seen his equal. After him spake your Majesty's Commissioner, of the charge imposed by your Majesty upon him, his sense of his own insufficiency and necessity of the obedience, regretting that he could not worthily relate your royal directions, with such grace as might prove answerable to the expression of your love of this people, which was

the only reason of his employment. That the parliament was indicted at the earnest request of the nobility and council, the just causes of your Majesty's desire of supply notour to the world, not for any ambition upon your part to increase the power of your son-in-law, or his children, with other mens estates. That war being begun by the people of Bohemia, impatient of the heavy yoke imposed upon their persons and consciences, and their subtle and instant introduction of your Majesty's son-in-law to undertake their protection more rashly nor [than] your Majesty's either known or after-knowledge allowed; but the progress of the usual accidents of war having brought upon him disadvantages and losses, which, not being remedied, would tend to his eternal ruin and dispersing of your grand-children, your Majesty was forced to contribute great sums for his defence, not of intention to maintain a continual war, but to avert his utter overthrow, till by your royal care and wisdom ye might by mediation and treaty procure peace and restitution of his patrimony, wherein the charges of your ambassadors, ordinary and extraordinary, sent to the most part of the princes and estates of Christendom were so great, as could not be duly considered by such as were not privy to matters of such consequence, not communicable to the vulgar sort; and while, as your Majesty was in good hope of settling that great war, ye were drawn under new trouble and charges, by the wars of the Valteline, France, and the Low Countries, whereof no settling could be

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expected but by your Majesty, whom God hath endued with so extraordinary wisdom, graces, and authority, that the Christian world acknowledged you alone for arbiter of their controversies; that the manifest danger of religion in all the parts of Christendom did more nearly touch your religious heart, nor [than] the interest of your children, seeing the world knew, that in the matching of your daughter (matchless for virtue) your Majesty upon consideration of the frailty of man's life, albeit that your dear son then promised that which God hath since performed in him by strength of body, happiness of health, and accomplishment of all princely virtues; yet, desiring that, if God should appoint him to die without issue of his body (which God defend) [forbid] the world might see that your Majesty did not so much affect the honour of more eminent, powerful, and wealthy alliance by her with Papists, who, not seeking money with her, would, as it were, have bribed your Majesty with infinite treasures to have granted to them the honour of your royal alliance, you, out of mere zeal to religion had, as it were, entailed your posterity to the protection of religion, by her marriage with an excellent prince of our profession*.

* King James had not always entertained such thoughts; for, by his instructions to Sir Michael Balfour at the court of Florence in the 1601, it appears, that he proposed to give the Princess Elifabeth in marriage to the Great Duke's son. MS. Advocates Library.

Thereafter he expressed the zeal and forwardness of our neighbour country at full, and specially of the Londoners, who had forbidden feasting, when your Majesty's grand-children would have been compelled to fast, if your natural and religious bounty had not royally furnished them all princely charges; and, therefore, exhorted the estates to increase the quantity of their wonted contributions, according to the importance of the present estate of affairs, rather to stir up our neighbours by expression of their affection, nor [than] the value of the sum, assuring them, in your Majesty's name, that if they should at this time behave themselves thankfully and worthily, your Majesty meant not hereafter to trouble them with furnishing more monies. Last, he recommended the affairs of the church, and that they would therein remember the bypast proofs of your excellent knowledge, great care and travels for maintaining and promoting religion; the public testimonies of your admired works, revered by the learnedest of the world; the malice of adversaries pressing to procure your death (which God avert) as the highest of their hopes and desires for prevailing against all the professors of the truth. He roughly inveighed against those who treasonably slandered your Majesty with intention to introduce all English ceremonies, but specially against those who spoke of Papistry or liberty of conscience, assuring them, that if they would obey and confirm the acts already made, your Majesty would never

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intend any future alteration†. He enlarged those grounds in so good terms, as all the estates acknowledged how well he had profited under the hand of the best master in the world. The public speeches were concluded by my Lord Chancellor, whose description of the dignity of a parliament, and honour of the particular estates and members thereof, in so high stile, and learned substance, as did exceed the capacity of many of the vulgar auditors. He closed with a pithy exhortation for the contribution, and church affairs. Thereafter the Lords of Articles were chosen with such dexterity, that no man was elected (one only excepted) but these who by a private roll were selected as best affected to your Majesty's service. A proposition was made, containing a novelty anent [concerning] meeting of all the nobility after the articles were concluded, to sit and consider of them before they were ratified by public parliament, which was so dexterously used, as I hope no harm shall ensue. I had almost forgotten, that your Majesty having justly blamed my errors, in the first draught I sent of a letter to have been sent by your Majesty to the estates, and being pleased to declare that you would cause reform it, and send it down, when I perceived that it had not been remembered, and that time would not permit to stay till it might be required and had, I ra-

† It would have been well if this promise had been remembered by the unfortunate successor of King James.

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ther took boldness to adventure to present that; whereof I send herewith the copy authorized by warrant entrusted by your Majesty to your Commissioner, nor [than] that the parliament should either defer or delay too long. If it please God to make me so happy, as that my conjectural stile be no more offensive to your Majesty, nor [than] it was to the estates, and that your Majesty may be pleased to send me an warrant in writ, pardoning that which I was forced to adventure for the good of your services, I shall humbly thank his Heavenly Majesty, and always beseech him to grant to your Majesty all the blessings that your royal heart, and the hearty affections of your faithful people beg to you at his bountiful hands. And rest,

Your Majesty's humblest,

and most obliged of all

your faithful servants,

MELROS,

Edinburgh, 26th July,

1621.

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EARL OF MELROS,
 SECRETARY OF STATE,
 TO
 KING JAMES.

MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN,

WEARINESS, and some pain in my eye, forced me to use my brother's hand in the letters I wrote yesterday of that had then past in matters concerning the parliament. Thereafter the Lords of Articles met, and, after reading your Majesty's letter to the parliament, and the other two which the convention of the nobility and council sent this winter to your Majesty, the taxation was mentioned by your commissioner, with so ample and judicious expressions of your Majesty's infinite charges, furnished to the entertainment of the forces of the princes of the union, very long, and of the army commanded by General Vere; beside, your navy at sea, and the charges of your children and grand-childrens maintenance, which enforced undeniable necessity of supply, they had only reason to consider what difference was in the causes and nature of this present action (the event whereof may, in worldly appearance, import the preservation or overthrow of religion in all Europe, and the uphold or perpetual ruin of that most antient, famous, and princely estate of the Palatinate) and these of former times. This pro-

position, strengthened by many reasons pertinent-ly alledged by the Lord Chancellor, Mar, and others, faithfully disposed to the good of the purpose, after long and modest reasoning, produced an uniform resolution, that a taxation behoved to be granted. The next question being of the quantity, my Lord of Saint Andrews alledged a precedent of King David's ransom, amounting to three hundred thousand merks, or, as others write, an hundred thousand merks; as likewise the sums paid for King James the first his redemption; which, considered, according to the scarcity of monies in that age, and abundance thereof in all the world at this time, might inform us how great a sum was now requisite for the reasons proponed by my Lord Commissioner. Then my Lord of Scone's opinion being demanded, he roundly told, that he had his honour, estate, and whole fortune of your Majesty, and would bestow them, and his life in your Majesty's service, thinking ten hundred thousand merks a competent sum, whereof he would readily pay his part, and what further your Majesty pleased to command. That sum being thought exorbitant, I answered, that my Lord of Saint Andrews's true examples imported much more, because an hundred thousand merks in King James's days, was an hundred thousand merks weight of silver, whereof every merk weight being eight ounces of silver, would amount at three pound the ounce, as it now gives, to four and twenty hundred thousand pounds. In the end, it was concluded, that where the greatest taxation

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that ever was before, was four hundred thousand merks, paid in four years, there should now be given four hundred thousand pounds in three years; for it is appointed to be paid at four Martinmas terms, whereof the first will be Martinmas next, and so be compleat that time three years. The Lords thought it more fit that the act should be conceived in these terms, that the pound land holden of your Majesty should pay thirty shillings yearly, and the kirk lands, and teinds, and burrows, the like proportion, which in effect is four hundred thousand pounds, nor [than] that the expression of the sum should inform the world of the smalness of our means when they are racked to extremity.

The next article was anent [concerning] the taxations of annualrents, wherein the novelty bred difficulty, and the interest of the commissioners of burrows, and others, strict opposition; but, because I knew much of their estate, and of the nature of that course, which myself, amongst others, have long exercised with benefit, I pressed to detect the secret of their pretexts; and, after great altercation, rather than reasoning, it was concluded, that all annualrents should pay tax without immunity of any estate or person. The means of trial, quantity, and terms of payment, rest to be considered. The good success of what has past, makes us to hope for the like in that which rests concerning the church articles. I pray God I may have speedy occasion to send your Majesty contented advertisement thereof: and that he may

132 EARL OF MELROS TO KING JAMES.

be pleased to blefs and long preserve your facred
perfon, and prosper your affairs, I reft,

Your Majesty's

most humble, faithful, and

bound fervant and fubject,

MELROS.

Edin. 27th July, 1621.

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E A R L O F M E L R O S,
S E C R E T A R Y O F S T A T E,
T O
K I N G J A M E S.

MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN,

MY letters of the 26th and 27th of July have informed your Majesty of things done at that time in parliament. Thereafter the church articles were allowed by the Lords of Articles with good uniformity. Since that time there has not arisen any great controversy in the house for matters of moment: the articles proponed either being found profitable for the country, or, if they concerned particular parties, they were lawfully concluded after hearing of the parties interested; only the taxation of the annualrents has been much impugned by the burgesſes, and some small barons, upon pretext of the harm which they may suffer in their credit, if their debts shall be unnecessarily discovered; who have been answered with clear and just reasons; but they still persist in their opposition, albeit with more modesty than others, who not being of the articles, and having craved permission to convene to prepare motions to be proponed to the articles, have converted the favour, obtained upon that specious pretext, to a meeting of noblemen and barons, who are reported to have dealt so passionately against the con-

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firmation of the church articles, and the taxation of annualrents, that your Majesty's Commissioner was forced to discharge the abused liberty of their assembling; and, since that time, has been forced to take so continual travel to dissolve their combination, and, by the assistance of all his friends, duly affected to your Majesty's service, to convert them to their duty, as has permitted small time of rest or sleep to him. He inclined to have caused punish some of the most avowedly malicious; but, the error being almost popular, he was counselled to forbear offensive rigour, and to study to calm and reclaim them by more mild means; and is in hope to prevail so with a number of them, that they shall either stay and concur in your Majesty's service, or absent themselves, and so do no harm. The rest, who shall be found irrecoverably malicious, will be made known to your Majesty, who may and can best judge of their merits. I can promise no further as yet, but good hope, with assurance of more pains, patience, and wisdom in your Majesty's Commissioner, faithfully assisted by some of your Majesty's servants, nor [than] could have been believed. God, who has ever directed your Majesty's just intentions to wished end, will overcome the malice of this opposition to your Majesty's contentment; which I pray his Heavenly Majesty long to grant in all your royal affairs. And rest,

Your Majesty's most humble,
and bound servant,

Edinburgh, 2d August, 1621.

MELROS.

EARL OF MELROS,
 SECRETARY OF STATE,
 TO
 KING JAMES.

MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN,

HAVING written my other letter upon the second of August in the morning, this is to render your Majesty account of what is since syne [since that time] done in articles. That day your Commiffioner, at five a'clock in the morning, began his confultation with the Archbishop of Saint Andrews, Lord Carnegie, Clerk of Register, Dean of Winchester, and me, by what friends means he might either reconquer the opposites who had vote in parliament, or persuaude or compel them by lawful order to be absent; and, according to our joint opinions, put all his friends to work where their credit might best prevail; and then entered to the articles at ten a'clock; and remaining till eight at night, dispatched so many affairs, just of themselves, and gracious to the people, as served for powerful inducements to divers of each estate to favour his desires for your Majesty's service. We are in good hopes to obtain the church articles ratified with the ordinary taxation; our greatest doubt is of the taxation of annualrents, which many abhor, as a novelty, and a discovery of their misery, and overthrow of their credit.

136 EARL OF MELROS TO KING JAMES.

For preventing of which disturbance, upon the second, at night, a meeting of the articles was appointed to be upon the third, at seven in the morning, to consider of the best expedient, inclining rather to dispense with the extremity, that thereby we may obtain a preparative of an aid wanting all preceding example, and a diversion of opposition to the church articles (which we think more important nor [than] the odds of a trifle of that subsidy) nor [than] by insisting upon a very small difference, in a money matter, to trouble or overthrow a better business. What shall be resolved shall be speedily subjoined to these lines.

Since the writing of what precedes, the Lords of Articles have this morning met and peaceably concluded, extreme diligence will be used to set all men right. The event must be remitted to God, in whose assistance we confide, and beseech him to bless this business, and all your royal desires. And rest,

Your Majesty's

most humble, faithful,

and obedient subject and servant,

MELROS.

Your Majesty's Commissioner expects that his diligence in well-doing will excuse his not writing, which is always natural to him, and now necessary,

Edinburgh, 3d August, 1621.

E A R L O F M E L R O S,
S E C R E T A R Y O F S T A T E,
T O
K I N G J A M E S.

MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN,

YOUR Majesty's parliament of this your kingdom is this afternoon happily concluded. The church articles had opposition; but the well affected prevailed by seven and twenty votes; albeit we were exceedingly disappointed by the treachery of some small burrows, who violated their promises, and were recompensed by your Commissioner's refusing to authorize their acts and ratifications.

In the act of the taxation, at first, there kythed [appeared] some danger, by the voices of lords who granted the ordinary taxation, and refused the taxation of annualrents; but my Lord Commissioner pressing them to give answer directly, that they either granted or refused the act of taxation, since it was only one act, the rest became ashamed to refuse; so as the opposites to that act were scarce ten, as the Clerk of Register's inclosed ticket will testify*.

* " The votes for the five articles, are threescore eighteen; the contrary votes, fifty one. There were but ten votes against the taxation."

Other laws and private acts past without contradiction. The conclusion was by a speech of your Majesty's Commissioner, renewing the assurances of your Majesty's constant favour to this nation; your zeal to the defence of pure religion; your earnest desire to relieve your people of burdens; to protect them from violence; to introduce all examples and effects of piety and justice amongst them; to increase trade and commerce; and to exempt them from the grief of the pains of bypast transgressions of statutes imposing pecunial pains; which being a most acceptable farewell to the whole estates, was met with the hearty wishes of all the people for your Majesty's long and prosperous life.

I must not forget the Commissioner's sharp censure of such as had abused the toleration of private meetings of the estates, with advertisement, that the like would not hereafter be suffered. The particular account will be more amply given by larger letters, and by the Dean of Winchester and Lord of Scone, who, so soon as the articles for the church and taxation were ended, they went to their horse, and will relate all particulars, and every man's behaviour. I may truly affirm theirs to have been exceeding faithful and forward, and that your Majesty's Commissioner, by his observing your excellent instructions, has effected the wishes of your faithful servants, and overcome the busy malice and subtilty of the adversaries, which I must assign to the happiness of your royal courses, so well grounded upon wisdom and justice, as

they cannot want success. I have thought it would be more agreeable to your Majesty to know this truth abruptly, nor [than] an more exact report more slowly. And, praying for the like prosperity in all your royal affairs, I rest,

Your Majesty's most humble,

and most obedient subject and servant,

MELROS.

Edin. 4th Aug. 1621.

NARRATIVE OF THE PROCEEDINGS
AGAINST ANTONIO DE DOMINIS,
ARCHBISHOP OF SPALATO, AFTER
HIS DEATH,

THE late Archbishop of Spalato being dead, his body was put into a coffin, and that into another bigger coffin well pitched, and was carried (*in deposito*) into the convent of the holy apostles, and committed into the hands of those reverend fathers, until such time as the cause of the said Archbishop was ended, to the end, that, according to the sentence, it might be disposed of, as in justice should be thought fit. And, in this manner, the sentence being given, and ready to be put in execution, the said body was taken away in the night the twentieth of this present from the place where it was deposited, being first legally reviewed, and was carried into the church of Minerva, and set upon a table in an eminent place, with his picture, and a bag of books, set forth in print by him, where it stood all that night, and the next morning. At the hour appointed, the cardinals of the high inquisition, being come together, with many others, to the number of seventeen or thereabout, (after they had committed to the secular power a certain man of Milan, who, under a counterfeit name, and habit of a Grecian, having not taken orders, presumed to say mass in the holy house of Loreto, and in other places, who the twenty-third of this present was hanged, and af-

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE INQUISITION. 141

terwards burned) the sentence of the said Archbishop was read in form following. First was rehearsed the manner of his running away; his going into England; the works made by him in word, writing, and print; and how, acknowledging his error, he made supplication unto the Pope, that he would willingly return to the bosom of the holy church, and abjure all and every heresy, if he might be assured of his pardon. He came to Rome, performed all that, obtained grace and pardon of the holy father, where he lived a long time; but, because his conversion was feigned, and not sincere and from his heart, he began, in familiar discourse, to break forth into most grievous heresies, and to maintain whatsoever he said to be true. The inquisition was informed thereof; and it appeareth by the proceeding against him, that he held the heresies following:

1. That the Council of Trent hath declared many things to be articles of faith which are not.

2. That all the sects of heretics might have been reduced to one church, if the church of Rome would have yielded in some of those things, which, in process of time, it determined to be *de fide*, instancing in particular the article of transubstantiation.

3. That there might union be made between the church of Rome and the Protestant heretics, agreeing together in the fundamental points.

4. That it may be disputed whether some articles and many things, determined to be *de fide* in

the Council of Trent, were sufficiently discussed and defined.

5. That whosoever holds and believes the fundamental articles, although he hold not the other, is not separated from the church, but is united with it in faith, because only the fundamental and essential articles are necessary to salvation, the others are disputable.

6. That what the Council of Trent hath defined to be *de fide* in matter of justification, predestination, grace, and the sacraments, that they confer grace, *ex opere operato*, doth not appertain unto faith.

7. That he was ready to maintain, even with his life, that all men might *abundare in sensu suo*, so that they agreed in *essentialibus fidei*.

8. That the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome is not *de jure divino*, or at least that it may be disputed whether it is or is not, looking for a definition thereof.

9. That the anathemas of the Council of Trent are no definitions of articles of faith.

10. That the heretics were not condemned in the Council of Trent, because they taught heresies, but only because they accused the church of Rome of heresy.

11. That to deny transubstantiation, purgatory, adoration of the images of saints, is not to deny things which appertain to the substance of faith, which, because Protestants have the true faith, is the true church.

12. That the church of Rome and the church

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of England are one and the same church, and both the one and the other catholic and orthodox.

13. That it is not *de fide*, that the general council, together with the Pope, is judge of controversies of faith.

14. That the bond of matrimony, ratified and consummated, may be dissolved by adultery of one of the parties.

15. That the bond of matrimony may be dissolved, even for other causes besides adultery.

16. That a temporal prince may for a reasonable cause decree, that the bond of matrimony, ratified and consummated, may be dissolved.

There were also other articles, but they are all contained in these.

These false and heretical propositions being read, it was declared how that the kindred of the said Archbishop, and whosoever else would come to make defence in the cause of the said Archbishop, were summoned to appear, and that some made their appearance within the time limited, who seeing the proceeding, and the said Archbishop's own confessions, did renounce, and would meddle no further; whereupon the said inquisitors proceeded to judgment, which was to declare him unworthy of the grace of the Holy Apostolic See; to deprive him of all honourable degree, benefice and dignity; to confiscate all his goods, and to put him over to the secular power; which then was done; that his picture, and the books made by him, should be burned.

This said sentence being read, the aforesaid cof-

144 PROCEEDINGS OF THE INQUISITION.

fin, picture, and books, were committed to the Governor of Rome, who was then present, and desired that the body might be again viewed and acknowledged; which was done; whereupon orders were presently given by the said Governor, that the body, together with those other things, should be carried into the place called Campo di Fiore, to be there burned. But, because they could not find any that would carry it into the said place, the serjeants took certain porters, whom they bound, and led them, being so bound, to take up the said body, picture, and books, which they carried into Campo di Fiore, where they were straightway burned.

Now, because the said Archbishop, in the end of his life, shewed himself penitent for the heresies which he had again held after abjuration, and asked pardon for them, he was admitted to the holy sacraments; but, because he was relapsed, he was for that reason committed to the secular power; which is all that happened in this action.

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SUBSTANCE OF SEVERAL MS. PAPERS
CONCERNING ANTONIO DE DOMINIS
IN THE ADVOCATES LIBRARY AT
EDINBURGH.

IN a Latin letter to Cyrill, Patriarch of Alexandria, he observes, that many of the Western churches, become corrupt through ease and luxury, now groaned under Papal thralldom; that he himself, born, educated, and dignified under the Roman rod, [*sub virgâ Romanâ*] had long experienced the antient Aegyptian darkness in the Western Aegypt, under that cruel Pharaoh; that at length he was constrained to take refuge in the land of Goshen, where all is light: that this he effected, with the assistance of Heaven, having arrived almost a year ago in England. There he could safely and freely contend for the truth; for there the cause of Christ triumphed under the protection of a most religious and wise monarch, the true defender of the antient Catholic faith.

He sends Cyrill his first work, *De Republicâ Ecclesiasticâ*, as a testimony of his earnest desire of holding communion with the Greek church. He says, that in this work he has defended the Eastern churches, especially that of Constantinople, and vindicated them from the calumnies of the Romanists; that he had asserted all the antient rights of the patriarchs; deprived the Bishop of Rome of his absolute primacy, and reduced him to his proper rank; that he hoped Cyrill would find in

this work an *antidote* against the *weapons* of the Jesuites. He then entrèats him to think seriously of an union of the Greek churches under his care with the most flourishing church of England; for, says he, such an union being once made, we shall easily prevail over Pharaoh, or rather over Antichrist, and remove his tyranny from the church of our Lord. He concludes, with exhorting Cyrill to communicate whatever difficulties he might have as to this union, either to the Archbishop of Canterbury, or to him, the writer, and to exert his utmost efforts *for extinguishing a schism so inveterate*.

What answer was returned to this letter does not appear; but there is a letter of compliment from Cyrill to Archbishop Abbot, dated 16th July, wherein much is said in commendation of the church of England, and of *suavissimus Jacobus*, as Cyrill terms the King.

From a paper intitled, "Manifesto of the Archbishop of Spalato," it appears that he was invited and encouraged in the name of the Pope and of the King of Spain to leave England.

The following particulars are collected from a letter written by him, upon his return to Rome, to one of his nephews. Having obtained a passport from King James, by the good offices of the Imperial minister, he left London. The custom-house officers seized his silver-plate, and part of his money; but the King ordered restitution to be made. On payment of a 1000 crowns, the Archbishop got back his silver-plate; but his money,

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CONCERNING ANTON. DE DOMINIS. 147

to the value of 2500 crowns, he never recovered.

On his arrival at Brussels, he was entertained by the Pope's Nuntio, in consequence of orders from his Holiness, and received by him into the bosom of the church.

After a residence of some months in the Low Countries, he set out for Italy. His train in horses, coaches, and attendants, was magnificent; and the foolish old Archbishop describes it with all the minuteness and exultation which might have been expected from some low-born girl, newly put in possession of titles and equipage.

In his journey through the dominions of different Roman Catholic princes he was treated with much respect; and, on his arrival in the Papal territories, with distinguished marks of honour, *passando sempre*, as he says himself, *con la mia famiglia honorata e cavalli che facevano stupire etiam i grandi.*

At Rome he was lodged near the residence of the Pope, had a maintenance allowed for himself and his domestics, and one of the coaches of the Cardinal nephew constantly at his disposal. He adds, that he was well looked upon, beloved, and caressed by all.

The next account of him is from a place, *from whose bourn no traveller returns*,—from the prison of the Inquisition. There he seems to have had the cruel task imposed upon him, of confuting his own works, “ Il Padre Commisario del fant’ officio,” says he, m’avisó d’ordine, come disse, di “ S. Santita ch’io portassi le vere et efficaci soluzioni, che dovessero soddisfare à pieno anco gli

"eretici. Adunque vedevano, ch'io diceva il ve-
 "ro, che molti argomenti non erano dagli scrit-
 "tori Catolici à bastanza sciolti, se bene erano
 "solubili, et io li sciogliero tutti con l'aiuto di
 "Dio. E ne ho già dato saggio nel primo mio
 "libro delle Retrattazioni già apparecchiato e mo-
 "strato, nel quale scioglio il grande argomento
 "della equalità tra gli apostoli tutti, non mai
 "fin 'ora à bastanza sciolto da alcuno scrittore
 "Catolico, e così farò de gli altri: perche se ben
 "è vero, che molti argomenti miei non sono stati
 "sciolti, non perciò io professo, che siano insolu-
 "bili, ch'io nelle Retrattazioni m'offerisco di sci-
 "orli tutti."

It appears, however, from the narrative of the Archbishop's sentence, that neither his learned recantations, nor his professions of orthodoxy, could satisfy the reverend fathers of the Inquisition.

Too much, perhaps, has been said concerning a person whose fame greatly exceeded his literary and controversial merit. From his history, men may be apt to conclude, that the importation of profelytes from the Romish church is no very beneficial trade; and that to confer distinguished favours, and heap preferments on one whose sincerity is not well-tried, is a measure neither just nor politic.

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 S E C R E T A R Y O F S T A T E,
 T O
 K I N G J A M E S.

MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN,

THE letter written by James Douglas, by your Majesty's direction, to the Lord Chancellor and me, advertising us of his Highness's sudden journey to Spain, being sent by my Lord Chancellor to me, I no sooner understood thereby your royal pleasure, that sinister rumours of that unexpected resolution might be suppressed, and as little speech of it dispersed as could be; but, foreseeing that sermons were to be made the next day in all the churches of the town, I presently sent for Mr. William Struthers, and directed him to warn all his colleagues to forbear all mention of that matter, till, by better occasion of knowledge of your Majesty's will, they might understand how to behave themselves dutifully in a purpose of such moment. And, incontinent thereafter, I dispatched letters to the Archbishops to take the like order with the ministers of their provinces, which was all, that, in a case so much perplexing my mind, I could conceive to be most fit to effect your Majesty's pleasure; albeit, I fear it shall not work so fully as I could wish, because the abuse of the posts, of whose slowness I have many times com-

150 EARL OF MELROS TO KING JAMES.

plained, has, in this occasion, answered my apprehension. For that letter sent to us, being directed from New-market, by packet, for life, the 21st of February, at eight at night, came not to me till the first of March, at six at night. The information of his Highness's journey being known here two days sooner, as well by letters from London, as by relation of such as came from London to this town by sea. By which means the rumour being so dispersed, nothing now resteth, but to make the best constructions that may be thought of, till we shall know your Majesty's particular directions, which I humbly desire may be with diligence. And, in the mean time, I shall add to my incessant prayers, for your Majesty's long and constant prosperity, my faithful and hearty petitions to God, that his Highness's journey, fraughted with our fears for the great travel and manifold dangers incident to that passage and return, may tend to his honour and safety, and your Majesty's contentment; and shall till my death remain,

Your sacred Majesty's

most humble, faithful,

and bound subject and servant,

MELROS.

Edinburgh, 3d March,

1623.

EARL OF BRISTOL

TO

KING JAMES.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

I MUST confess, I am so much transported, first with admiration, then with joy, of the safe arrival of the Prince and my Lord Marquis of Buckingham, that I know I shall have need to begin this letter with an apology for a distracted dispatch. But I conceive the good news which it will carry in the front, that both the Prince and my Lord Marquis are safe and well, and were never merrier in their lives, will excuse all defects.

Upon Friday, which was the 7th of this month, about eight of the clock at night, the Prince and my Lord of Buckingham, without any other company but their postilion, arrived at my house, where my Lord Marquis meeting at the door with Henry Jermin, a son of Sir Thomas Jermin's, told him that his name was Smith, and that he had met my servant Gresly by the way, who had fallen into thieves hands, by whom he had been very ill used, and had all his letters taken away; that he had promised to come and tell me of it; but excused his coming up to see me; for that he said he had got a fall, and hurt one of his legs, so that he could not come up stairs, but with great pain. Whilst H. Jermin was making this relation unto me, Sim. Digby went to see who it was,

and knew my Lord of Buckingham, but dissimulated it so well, that before I could come to him, he had got him up to his chamber, and went presently down to the Prince (who stood all this while in the street with his postilion) and brought him likewise so handsomely up to his chamber, that there I found them both together, and we carried the business so dextrously, that that night they were undiscovered by any, till the next morning, by the coming of Mr. Secretary Cottington and Endimion Porter, the secret was revealed, for as much as concerned my Lord of Buckingham: and that morning I sent word unto the Conde of Gondemar, that my Lord of Buckingham was come, who presently apprehended, that the Prince was not far off, and came home to my house to visit my Lord Marquis, of whose being here the Conde of Olivares having likewise gotten notice, sent to desire leave to come and visit him, but my Lord of Buckingham very earnestly excusing it, about four of the clock in the afternoon the Conde sent a coach for him, wherein went only my Lord Marquis, the Conde of Gondemar, Sir Walter Aston, and myself, by a private way into the Park, where we found the Conde of Olivares expecting us, and there he sat in the coach with my Lord of Buckingham, and entertained him almost an hour and a half, within which time there passed so much expression of joy, and so great a declaration of a grateful acceptance of this action, as I dare confidently say unto your Majesty, that whatsoever I have formerly written of their professions, hath

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been by many degrees exceeded, as I doubt not but your Majesty will receive from my Lord of Buckingham's pen. Then the Conde had us up by a back way into the King's private rooms, where my Lord Marquis had audience of the King, who received my Lord with so much alacrity and freeness, that I never saw the Spanish gravity laid aside before, nor any man more overtaken with joy than the King was; for he secretly understood of the Prince's being here. I shall only in this particular say thus much, (leaving the rest unto my Lord) that they then parted, the King much satisfied with my Lord, and he infinitely admiring the young King. Afterwards the Conde of Olivares desired leave of the King, that he might come along with us, and kiss the Prince his hands, (as he did) and there to the Prince himself made the same professions he had unto my Lord Marquis of Buckingham, and would by no means cover himself before the Prince, but made so great expressions of respect and the esteem which both the King and his ministers held themselves obliged to make of the honour which they had received by this his coming, that I presume his Highness remained very much contented and satisfied therewith; and though I must confess, ingenuously, that if your Majesty had been pleased to ask my advice concerning the Prince his coming in this manner, I should rather have dissuaded than given any such counsel, especially before the coming of the dispensation: yet, since it hath pleased God,

that he is so safely arrived, and that by these good beginnings, there are so great hopes of good success, I cannot but account it a happiness, and shall, by God's assistance, contribute faithfully and industriously all that shall be in me, for the bringing of this great work unto perfection, with as much speed as may be. That very night my Lord Marquis having intimated the great desire the Prince had as soon as might be to see his mistress, they acquainted the King therewith, who was so forward therein, that notwithstanding that the next day was Sunday, and in Lent, yet he dispensed with his gravity, so far as to go in a coach abroad, to a place called the Prado, which is a hole without the town, where men do take the air, with his sister with him, and all the court, where the Prince was to stand disguised in a coach to see them. The Prince had with him in the coach my Lord Marquis, the Conde of Gondemar, Sir Walter Aston, myself, and Endimion Porter, and we were guided by the Conde of Gondemar, who brought the Prince to such a part where the King was to pass by; and so we were removed three several times, that the Prince had a full sight of them all. As the King was going homewards, the Conde of Olivares leapt out of the coach he was in, and came running into the Prince his coach to wait on him, and so gave three or four turns in the coach, and then attended him into my house, where he told the Prince, that the King, his master, had not patience to abstain lon-

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ger from seeing him; and acknowledging with his own mouth the great honour which by this his coming he had done him; and desired that he might come that night home to the Prince. But thereunto his Highness would by no means condescend, but said he would rather go to the palace privately to see the King. But both of these courtesies being in courtesy refused on the one part and the other, it was in the end resolved, that late in the night they should meet in the Prado. And because it was night, the Conde of Olivares said, merrily, that his master must come equally accompanied; and that the Prince being like to bring with him two ambassadors and his secretary, he would take away my Lord of Buckingham and Porter for interpreter with him; and that they should come as Spaniards with the King; with this company only the King came to the Prado; with the Prince went the Conde of Gondemar, Sir Walter Aston, myself, and Mr. Cottington; when we came there, we found the King, who presently lighted out of his coach, and met the Prince, and then they saluted one another with as much courtesy as was possible; and they presently entered into the King's coach alone, where I served as interpreter betwixt them; and, after much striving in courtesy, who should give the place, which the King constrained the Prince to take, I can assure your Majesty, that greater professions or acknowledgments could not proceed from a prince than were made unto his Highness

by the King, as I doubt not but from his Highness your Majesty will understand. Having spent half an hour, or thereabouts, in discourse, the King would needs bring the Prince to his coach on foot, which the Prince would not permit, but could not hinder him from going more than half way. And this is the account which I can give your Majesty of what hath passed till after twelve of the clock in the night upon Sunday the ninth of March, when, God be thanked, both the Prince and my Lord Marquis were very merry, and in perfect health. And I humbly beseech your Majesty to pardon me, that I have so long deferred the dispatching of a post to advertise you of the Prince his safe arrival, which I would have done at the very instant, but that both his Highness and my Lord Marquis were not pleased that I should send away any body till they had somewhat to write. But hereafter, God willing, I will never let many days pass together, without giving your Majesty an account of the Prince his health, and of the further progress of these so comfortable and good beginnings.

I will conclude with telling your Majesty only this, that for the success it is in the hands of God; and I am glad that I was kept ignorant of the course that hath been taken; for that I should as much as I might directly have protested against it. But if it shall please God, that things do end as happily as they have begun hopefully, I shall think that God hath therein had his particular work-

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TO KING JAMES. 157

ing much beyond any human prudence, and so
wishing unto your Majesty all happiness, I most
humbly recommend you to the holy protection
of God. And rest,

Your Majesty's most humble,

and most faithful subject and servant,

BRISTOL.

Madrid, the 10th of March,
1622. St. Vet.

EARL OF CARLILE

TO

KING JAMES.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCEL. MAJESTY,

IT will not be displeasing to your Majesty, if I repeat again the same thing, which I pray God may be the *refrein* of all my letters; and that is, that as his Highness was never in more perfect health, so his carriage is to the singular admiration of this court and people; and I am confident, that when it shall please God to restore him again into England, he will declare to have made so great good use of the experience of this journey, as shall give no less cause of rejoicing to them that were most tenderly affected, than they shewed to have before of apprehension. In the mean time, I dare boldly assure your Majesty, that his well-grounded piety and knowledge of the religion wherein he was bred, is infinitely confirmed and corroborated by the spectacles which he hath seen of their devotions here. And your Majesty's most excellent servant, my Lord Admiral, doth carry himself with such nobleness, wisdom, and vigilance in your Majesty's service, as his virtues do illustrate your Majesty's glory and wisdom, in making choice of so worthy an object of your favour*.

* Wretched, indeed, is the condition of princes, when

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EARL OF CARLILE TO KING JAMES. 159

And now I will cast myself, in all humble reverence, at your Majesty's feet, to kiss your royal hands, in acknowledgment of your gracious favours to my son and myself since my departure. I most humbly beseech your Majesty to believe that you have sowed in a fruitful soil, which shall render you a plentiful harvest of reverence, humility, loyalty, and love, which shall last as long as we live. I am, and so will die,

Your Majesty's most humble,

most obedient, and

most obliged creature,

subject and servant,

CARLILE.

Madrid, the 5th of April,
1623.

their greatest and most inexcusable weaknesses are not only justified but applauded.

SECRETARY COTTINGTON
TO
KING JAMES.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

YOU do so many ways understand all that passeth here, as nothing is left for this your Majesty's poor, humble, and faithful servant to tell you: and yet I may peradventure light upon some passages which others have not.

This King's love to the Prince, my master, seems every day to increase; he is continually with him, and says often, that he will one day follow him to London; and this morning he said, that he desired nothing so much as to see your Majesty. The little Cardinal Don Ferdinando is strangely enamoured of the Prince, and his Highness with the Cardinal, so as they have much ado to keep the Cardinal from him any time of the day.

I was interpreter for my Lord Marquis when he spoke with the Infanta Dona Maria. She inquired for your Majesty's health before she would hear any thing else. But when my Lord came to speak of the Prince, she blushed extremely; and his Highness hath since spoken with her himself (having often seen her) and likes her so well, as without all doubt she will be with child before she get into England, though they make never so much haste. Others will tell your Majesty the good news we have from Rome, and more particularly you

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FR. COTTINGTON TO KING JAMES. 161

will understand it (and all) by my Lord of Carlile's relation; for the Prince is resolved to send him instantly to your Majesty; and it is not here amiss to tell you, that my Lord of Carlile is much in love with this court, and with this people, amongst whom is so general a rejoicing for the Prince his being here, as cannot well be expressed.—Every day hath new entertainments and sport. But nothing hath so much joyed our heart as the good news of your Majesty's health, without which all would be sadness and affliction. My Lord Marquis often drinks your Majesty's health, with so much contentment to speak of you, and to remember you, as the tears fall from his eyes, for which I am his slave, and do heartily pray for him, and serve him with all the poor means I have.

No hour passeth in which I do not remember how much I am bound to spend my life in doing your Majesty the least service in the world; and God Almighty knows that I desire nothing more than an occasion for it; and the advertisement which is given me of your Majesty's most gracious favour and care towards my poor wife, puts yet a greater obligation on me, if it were possible; and here I most humbly beseech your Majesty to continue that comfort to that poor desolate woman, with whom I remained only four days, and came this journey, without telling her whither I went, notwithstanding I love her as much as a man can love a woman. I hear she is extremely afflicted; and so it appears by her letters.

L

162 FR. COTTINGTON TO KING JAMES.

Befeeching the Almighty God ever to blefs and
prosper your Majesty, I rest,

Your Majesty's

most humble servant,

FRA. COTTINGTON.

Madrid, the 8th of April,
1623, Stylo Vet.

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DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

TO

KING JAMES.*

DEAR DAD AND GOSSIP,

I SHALL make you wonder at a resolution I have taken never to enquire more after your health; you can bear me witness, that I have never given credit to those that undertake to have the philosopher's stone, especially when they become takers themselves, as my devil hath now proved himself; if he blow as profitably with all the world besides as he hath done with me, he will have little need of the philosopher's stone; yet, if all be true he hath assured to me, I shall think my four hundred pound well bestowed: I confess, so long as he concealed the means he wrought by, I despised all he said; but when he told me, that which he hath given your Sovereignty, to preserve you from all sickness ever hereafter, was extracted out of a t——, I admired the fellow; and for these reasons, that, being a stranger to you, yet he had found out the kind you are come of, and your natural affections and appetite, and so, like a skilful

* From a multitude of the Duke's letters to King James, preserved in the Advocates Library at Edinburgh, the following are selected as the most curious and characteristic. Their general address is, *To the best of masters.*

164 DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM TO K. JAMES.

man, hath given you natural phyfic, which is the only means to preserve the radical humour. And thus I conclude, my sow * is healthful, my devil's lucky, myself is happy, and needs no more than your blessing, which is my true philosopher's stone, upon which I build as on a rock.

Your Majesty's

most humble slave and dog,

STINIE.

Here is a gentleman called Sir Francis Leake, who hath likewise a philosopher's stone; 'tis worth but eight thousand; he will give it me, if you will make him a baron; I will, if you command not the contrary, have his patent ready for you to sign, when I come down; he is of good religion, well born, and hath a good estate. I pray you burn this letter.

* From a letter preserved in the British Museum, it appears, that *Sow* was the familiar appellation given to King James, as that of *Dog* was to his favourite.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

TO

KING JAMES.

DEAR DAD AND GOSSIP,

I HAVE sent this mettled post to be an eye-witness of your second day's hunting, if want of sleep will give him leave, having undertaken to ride all night, to hunt with you all-day, and be with me before supper back again, so that weariness do not prevent him; I hear you have got a good stomach since your being there; but I fear your liberality doth not give you leave to eat a good bit, being well acquainted with that old custom of yours of ever giving away the best. We both have fed of nothing else; and though they have all proved fat and tender, yet not being eaten at your sonfy * lucky table, they wanted that sauce which makes all savoury. Let this bearer bring me news of your health and mirth; and then I crave no more but your blessing for

Your Majesty's

most humble slave and dog,

STINIE.

* The Scottish word *sonfy*, answers precisely to the modern English word *jolly*.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

TO

K I N G J A M E S.

DEAR DAD AND GOSSIP,

THOUGH I have received three or four letters from you since I wrote last, yet, as Tom Badger says, I am not behind-hand with you; for I have made a hundred answers to them in my mind; yet none that could satisfy my mind; for kinder letters never servant received from master; and for so great a King to descend so low, as to his humblest slave and servant, to communicate himself in a style of such good-fellowship, with expressions of more care than servants have of masters, than physicians have of their patients, (which hath largely appeared to me in sickness and in health) of more tenderness than fathers have of children, of more friendship than between equals, of more affection than between lovers of the best kind, man and wife, what can I return! nothing but silence; for if I speak, I must be sawcy, and say this, or short of what is due, my purveyor, my good fellow, my physician, my maker, my friend, my father, my all, I heartily and humbly thank you for all you do, and all I have. Judge what unequal language this is in itself, but especially considering the thing that must speak it, and the person to whom it must be spoken. Now, tell me whether I have not done discreetly, to be

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DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM TO K. JAMES. 167

filent all this while ; 'tis time I should be so again,
or else commit a fault in wearying him, that never
wearies to do me good. Then thus I'll end. I
begin my journey to-morrow. I shall have the
Prince to wait of. We shall ly at Theobalds. The
one will hunt hinds and does, the other survey the
trees, walks, ponds, and deer. The next day af-
ter lay ourselves at your feet, there crave your
blessing ; then give an account of Theobalds's park
to the best of men, though not of the kind of man,
yet made by man, more than man, like a man,
both artificial man, and my most natural Sove-
reign, who, by innumerable favours, hath made
me,

Your Majesty's

both humble slave and dog,

.STINIE.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

TO

K I N G J A M E S.

DEAR DAD AND GOSSIP,

** "cunts"*

YESTERDAY we got hither so early, that I had time to see over a good part of my works here. This afternoon I will see the rest. I protest to God, the chiefest pleasure I have in them, is, that I hope they will please you, and that they have all come by and from you. I am now going to give my redeemer thanks for my maker. The afternoon I will spend in viewing the rest. To-morrow the ——— * threaten to be early up, being of my mind impatient to be with you, we shall have need of a coach of yours or BABIE CHARLES, to make the way short. I could write to the equeries to send them to Thurlo, seven miles on this side New-market; but I will be beholden to none but my kind master and purveyor, who never failed me when I had need; therefore bestir thee, and [two words illegible] duty. I will give no thanks for nothing till I may do it on my knees; so I crave your blessing, as

Your Majesty's most humble slave and dog,

STINIE.

* He means his mother and his wife, but the expression which he uses is incredibly gross. The same expression is repeated in other of his letters. When the Editor said, that the Duke "used the figure of *pars pro toto*, well

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DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

TO

K I N G J A M E S,

DEAR DAD AND GOSSIP,

I HAVE sent Watt Montague this morning into France with the copy of these things you resolved of with the French ambassador, that our ambassadors may no more complain for want of timely advertisements. The Spanish agent will be with me before I can have well ended this letter. Gondemar's man was with me this morning. The discourse I had with him, I am sure will not only be pleasing to you, but make you laugh; the most part of the morning I spent with the French ambassador, and yet could not make an end; wherefore he hath earnestly entreated me to stay this day in town, as likewise to see that dispatch he will send into France: he makes no question of an answer from thence answerable to your heart's desire: I confess I believe it, and the rather because I know they dare do no otherwise; and I am sure you now begin to laugh in your sleeve to see yourself so courted of all sides, and that all their actions turn so to your advantage*. Dear Dad,

"known in vulgar rhetoric," he had the misfortune not to be understood by some of his *readers*!

* The common language of shallow statesmen to credulous and ignorant kings.

170 DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM TO K. JAMES.

since I cannot come to-night, let this hasty letter give thanks for the true, favourable, and most affectionate interpretation of my staying here; and God never relieve me when I have most need of it, if it be not a separating of myself when I am from you; and in lieu of having comfort and my heart ease by you, to serve you, I give myself nothing but trouble and vexation. To-morrow, without fail, I will wait of you, and, if it be possible, bring *my mother and wife* with me. In the mean time, for much take a little, which is my humble thanks, for not only cloathing my outside, but filling my in, and with such precious bits, as was only fit for you, but will prosper the better when you add this. I humbly crave your blessing,
AS

Your Majesty's

most humble slave and dog,

STINIE,

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

TO

KING JAMES.

DEAR DAD AND GOSSIP,

As necessity enforces me, instead of repairing to you, according to your command, and my promise, to go many miles from you another way, and consequently from myself, all my perfect joys and pleasures chiefly, nay solely, consisting in attending your person; so methinks duty and good manners commands me, on the other part, to give you an account under my own hand, though it be yet something unsteady and weak. But, before I give the reasons of the change of my former resolution, there is a thing not much in exercise now in this world, called Thankfulness, that calls so fast and earnestly upon me, that I must first, though I have already done it by the assistance of a young gentleman, called BABIE CHARLES, whom you likewise, by your good offices, made my friend, who, without doubt, hath already perfectlier made my thanks than I shall myself, yet, having the pen in my hand, I must needs tell you what I observe in your late absent and public favour, but antient manner of obliging your poor unworthy servant, whereby I find you still one and the same dear and indulgent master you were ever to me, never being contented to overvalue and love me yourself, but to labour all manner

of way to make the whole world do so too. Besides, this assures me, you trust me as absolutely, as ever, largely exprest in this, that you have no conceit of my popularity, otherwise why should you thus study to endear me with the upper and lower house of parliament, and so consequently with your whole kingdom; all, and the least I can say, is this, that I naturally so love your person, and upon so good experience and knowledge, adore all your other parts, which are more than ever one man had, that were not only all your people, but all the world besides set together on one side, and you alone on the other, I should, to obey and please you, displease, nay despise all them, and this shall be ever my popularity. Give me leave here to use your own proverb, For this the devil con me thanks. The reasons of my going to Newhall, are these, first, I find business, and the sight of busy folks, does me much harm, and though your extraordinary care, and watchful eye over me, would keep them from speaking with me, yet in a court I must needs look many of them in the face; then Theobalds house is now very hot, and hath but few change of rooms, both inconvenient to a sick body; then my Lord of Warwick tells me, that, by experience, he hath found Newhall air as good a one to ride away an ague as any in England, and that lately he lost one by the benefit of that air, I mean near hand, which I think will be all one. By this time, I fear, I have troubled you; and were it not that I write to you, I am sure I should have wearied myself. I have

now
me
you
cont

TO KING JAMES.

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now only one request to you, as you first placed
me in your BABIE CHARLES's good opinion, if
you think fit, for your service, in my absence,
continue me in it, and so give me your blessing.

Your Majesty's

most humble slave and dog,

STINIE.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

TO

KING JAMES.

DEAR DAD AND GOSSIP,

I DO not know what fault I have made of late, that you should take so cruel a revenge of me, as to put me in the fear your last but one letter did. I am too far behind-hand to let the quarrel rest so; though in your last you made a proposition full of affection, if I may call it by so sawcy a name; you are now in the place of love; therefore, for that respect, I will now forbear you; but when you are off of that ground, look to yourself. I hope to have the happiness to-morrow to kiss your hands; therefore I will not send you that letter you writ to the Pope, which I have got from Secretary Calvert; when he delivered it to me, he made this request, that he hoped your Majesty would as well trust him in the letter you were now to write, as you had heretofore in the former. I did what I could to dissemble it; but, when there was no means to do it, I thought best to seem to trust him absolutely, thereby the better to tie him to secrecy. If this be a lie, as I am sure it is, then you may begin to think, that, with a little more study, I may cry Quittance; so I crave your blessing.

Your Majesty's

humble slave and dog,

STINIE.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

TO

KING JAMES.

DEAR DAD AND GOSSIP,

THOUGH I writ last night, yet I think it not amiss to add one word more, to express myself more particularly: my Lord Maxwell is arrived, and hath assured me, having had it out of the Pope's own mouth, that the dispensation is granted free and unclogged. He further adds, that after he had, in a rough manner, spoke with the Nuntio at Paris, in so much that he told he would complain of him presently to his Holiness, he answered him calmly thus, and with some expressions of fear, that he should do it; that if he would but have a little patience, he should quickly see through the business, and have no cause to complain; all this I have told d'Effiat, but under the rose. I likewise told him, you reproached to me, where is your glorious match with France, and your royal frank monseurs. I told him also, I had orders to set a short day for the assembling of the parliament, and that you had commanded me, if the Spanish agent came to visit me, that I should, upon pain of your displeasure, not only use him civilly, but kindly. He answered me impatiently and confusedly, what, cannot one make a trial of gaining better and more advantageous conditions, without an intention to break? Where-

upon I told him, I did not think they did intend to break; nay, that I did not think there [was] an occasion; besides, the ties of honour and honesty would not give them leave, but I was sorry and ashamed, that so unseasonably, after all things were performed to their desire, nay, more than they could have imagined; witness the assistance of shipping, the hearty professions of my master, as well by letter as those verbal compliments he sent by Monsieur la Riviere, and now at the time when acknowledgments at the least, if not requitals, should have come, with greedy gluttonous appetites, to seek to surfeit on the forbidden tree, can receive no cleaner an interpretation than to have come from an unreasonable, unjust, false, and unmannerly appetite; and thus you have ended *avec la bonne bouche*; but I thought in my mind sh—— mouths. I pray you, Sir, do not kiss that word, nor bewray for want of bold and absolute language, a good business. I ended with Monsieur thus, your master acknowledges he hath already the substance of what he desires, though I know the contrary; the Pope is to receive satisfaction not from my master, but yours. Now, then, let every man act his own natural proper part. Spain must really be cozened; let the Pope do that, since he can as well pardon himself as all the world. The Pope seemingly must be cozened; let France do that, who hath the title of the most Christian King, and so may the easilier obtain a pardon; my master will neither be cozened, nor cozen; wherefore the most Christian King must conscionably

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undertake to his Holiness, for as much as may concern Spain, France, and Rome, who may not for their union be called the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost *. Sir, I will weary your patience with one word more; if you please, treat as little as may be, and roundly let the ambassador know, you so much prize your honour, that neither in a circumstance nor form will you make any alteration, and set your ambassadors a short peremptory day for an answer; if it prove good, I shall be as soon ready to go from hence as it can be to come hither; if ill, then let your ambassadors as speedily come away; for never admit of new journeys to Rome, neither doth it need. I will end with Mall's compliment to me: Lord Father, I love you well! Lord Father, I will die for you! So I crave your blessing, as

Your Majesty's

most humble slave and dog,

STINIE.

* This expression, which is as dull as it is profane, would certainly have been omitted, had the fidelity due by a transcriber to the public allowed it.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM
TO
KING JAMES.

DEAR DAD AND GOSSIP,

I DID hope to have got out of town to-morrow, but by reason of new discoveries my brother hath made of a witchcraft, I am forced to crave leave to stay till Monday or Tuesday, otherwise, by leaving him in the midst of his troubles, I should give him too just cause to think I cared no more for him than to serve my turns of him.

I confess, there is yet too much to do concerning my preparations for France; and God forbid I should, by my neglect, make that longer in doing which hath been already too long undone, the marriage of the Prince. The want of monies in your exchequer makes me now want the happiness to wait of you; for, as yet, I have not received one penny; but of this I'll trouble you no more, it being now ready, as I am ever to receive your blessing, which now I crave, as

Your Majesty's

most humble slave and dog,

STINIE.

Both Kate, Mall, and I, humbly thank the good man Purveyor, for his presents of all kinds.

DUTCHESS OF BUCKINGHAM

TO

K I N G J A M E S.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIE,

I HAVE receved the two boxes of drid ploms and graps, and the box of violatt caks, and chickens; for all which I most humbly thank your Majestie.

I hope my Lord Anan * has tould your Majestie, that I did mean to wene Mall very shortly. I wood not by any mens a-don it, till I had furst made your Majestie acquainted with it; and by reason my eusen Bret's boy has binne ill of latt, for fere shee should greeve and spyle her milk, maks me very desiorous to wene her; and I thinke shee is ould enufe, and I hope will endure her wen-ing very well; for I thinke there was never child card les for the brest than shee dos; so I do entend to make triall this night how shee will endure it. This day, praying for your Majestie's health and longe life, I humbly take my leave.

Your Majesty's

most humbell sarvant,

K. BUCKINGHAM.

* The person intrusted with this important commission, concerning the weaning of Mall, was Sir John Murray of the Bed-Chamber, created Viscount Annan by K. James.

THE
DUTCHESS DOWAGER OF LENOX
TO
K I N G J A M E S.

MY SOVEREIGN LORD,

ACCORDING to your Majesty's gracious pleasure, signified unto me, I have sent a young man to attend you, accompanied with a widow's prayers and tears, that he may wax old in your Majesty's service; and in his fidelity and affection may equal his ancestors departed: so shall he find grace and favour in the eyes of my lord the King; which will revive the dying hopes, and raise the dejected spirits, of a comfortless mother,

Your Majesty's

most humble servant,

KA. LENOX.*

* The daughter and heir of Gervase Lord Leightoun, the widow of Efme third Duke of Lenox, and the mother of many heroes. The reader, after having perused so many letters of flatterers and politicians, will be relieved with the elegant simplicity of this billet.

APPENDIX.

M 3

THE
DUTCHESS DOWAGER OF LENOX
TO
K I N G J A M E S.

MY SOVEREIGN LORD,

ACCORDING to your Majesty's gracious pleasure, signified unto me, I have sent a young man to attend you, accompanied with a widow's prayers and tears, that he may wax old in your Majesty's service; and in his fidelity and affection may equal his ancestors departed: so shall he find grace and favour in the eyes of my lord the King; which will revive the dying hopes, and raise the dejected spirits, of a comfortless mother,

Your Majesty's

most humble servant,

KA. LENOX.*

* The daughter and heir of Gervase Lord Leightoun, the widow of Esme third Duke of Lenox, and the mother of many heroes. The reader, after having perused so many letters of flatterers and politicians, will be relieved with the elegant simplicity of this billet.

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T H E E A R L O F M A R R.†

R I G H T T R U S T Y A N D W E L L B E L O V E D C O U S I N A N D
C O U N S E L L O R, W E G R E E T Y O U R I G H T H E A R T I L Y
W E L L.

HA V I N G understood, as well by your own declaration made to the council, which you desired should by them be signified unto us, as by your own letter upon your duty and alledgeance, that some of our subjects had an intention to have taken our dearest son the Prince, if he had come from Stirling to the Torwood; and considering the same to be a purpose of no little consequence, that it cannot be let pass, but meriting due trial and condign punishment, which cannot be well prosecuted, except you come hither in person to give us up the names of the persons who should have been of the said conspiracy, that we may thereafter proceed in their trial. It is therefore our will, that ye fail not, all excuses set aside, to

* This paper, and the two following papers, were communicated, in the most obliging manner, to the Editor by James Ereskine, Esq; Advocate.

address yourself hither, in all possible diligence, to the effect foresaid; for, seeing ye have set down the accusation so clearly, we intend to proceed with no less care in the trial and punishment thereof. As for our letter, sent by you, to our dearest bed-fellow, although you have done nothing in the not delivery thereof but according to our direction; yet, since the contents thereof are not of so great consequence as they are particular, and not fit to come into every man's hands, it is our will, that, for the better satisfaction, ye deliver the same to any of the council, to be given to her and disposed upon as she pleaseth, in case she continue in that willfulness, as she will not hear your credit, nor receive the same from your own hands. In all other things, concerning the transporting of our son, ye shall dispose yourself according as our cousin, the Duke of Lennox, will particularly acquaint you to that which is our pleasure, and advise with him carefully upon our honour and his surety. To whose sufficiency remitting the rest, and looking for yourself in all haste, we bid you farewell. From our palace at Greenwich the 13th May, 1603.

JAMES R.

KING JAMES

TO

QUEEN ANNE OF DENMARK.

MY HEART,

I M M E D I A T E L Y before the receipt of your letter I was purposed to have written unto you, and that without any great occasion, except for freeing myself at your hands from the imputation of swearnests, [unwillingness,] but now your letter has given more matter to write, although I take small delight to meddle in so unpleasant a process.—I wonder that your long knowledge of my nature, nor my late earnest purgation unto you, cannot cure you of that rooted error, that any living dare speak or inform me in any ways to your prejudice; or yet, that ye can think they are your unfriends that are true servants to me. I can say no more, but protest, upon the peril of my salvation and damnation, that neither the Earl of Marr, nor any flesh living, ever informed me that ye was upon any Papish or Spanish course, or that ye had any thoughts, but a wrong conceived opinion that he had claimed more interest in your son, or would not deliver him unto you; neither does he farther charge the noblemen that was [with] you there, but that he was informed, that some of them thought by force to have assisted you in the taking my son out of his hands; but as for any other Papist or foreign practice, by

God, he does not so much as alledge it; therefore, he says, he will never presume to accuse them, since it may happen well to import your offence. And therefore I say over again, leave these froward womanly apprehensions, for I thank God, I carry that love and respect unto you, which, by the law of God and nature, I ought to do to my wife and mother of my children, but not for that ye are a king's daughter; for whether ye were a king or a cook's daughter, ye must be all alike to me, since my wife. For the respect of your honourable birth, and descent, I married you, but the love and respect I now bear you, is because that ye are my married wife, and so partaker of my honour, as of my other fortunes. I beseech you excuse my plainness in this, for casting up of your birth is a needless impertinent argument to me; God is my witness, I ever preferred you to my bairns, much more than to a subject. But if you will ever again give place to the report of flattering sycophants, that will persuade you, when I account well of an honest and wise servant, for his true faithful service to me, that it is to compare or prefer him to you, then will never you nor I be ever again at rest or peace. I have, according to my promise, copied so much of that plot, whereof I wrote unto ye in my last, as did concern my son and you, which herein is inclosed†, that ye may see I wrote it not without cause, but I desire it not to have any se-

† The paper here referred to is not found.

cretaries than yourself. As for your doole [lamentation] made concerning it, it is utterly impertinent at this time, for sic [such] reasons as the bearer will show unto you, whom I have likewise commanded to impart divers other points unto you, which, for fear of wearying your eyes with my rugged hand I have herein omitted. Praying God, my heart, to preserve you and all the bairns, and to send me a blyth meeting with you, and a couple of them,

Your own,

JAMES. R.

K I N G J A M E S

T O

T H E E A R L O F M A R R.

M Y L O R D,

YOU remember at your last parting from me, I recommended your Cousin of Fenton's† errand to your courtesy, and altho' I hope that remembrance shall be sufficient for his turn, yet because I am persuaded ye was not then resolved what special end ye would make therein, and that the season of the year draws now on, wherein of necessity it must be at a point, I have thought good to direct the bearer hereof, my servant and your friend, to be a remembrancer to you in that errand, whom I have instructed to tell you fully my mind therein, assuring myself, that, in dealing with this party, ye will not only consider that he is one of your own nearest kinsmen, and that he is one of my oldest servants, and the son of so honest a father‡, but especially and above all, that he

† Sir Thomas Ereskine, created Viscount Fenton, and afterwards Earl of Kelly. His father was Sir Alexander Ereskine of Gogar, brother of the Earl of Marr, regent, and uncle of that Earl of Marr, to whom this letter is addressed.

‡ After the death of Regent Marr, Sir Alexander Ereskine had the custody of the King's person committed to him.

was one of them that so happily and honourably preserved his life *, wherein ye breath under God, and who must ever requite with thankfulness those that use courteously any of them; as if he were not a king he would be their second against any of their adversaries. And thus wishing you a short and fortunate parliament there, for an antidote to our fashious [troublesome] and forward parliament here, I bid you heartily farewell.

JAMES R.

* At Perth, 5th August, 1600, when the Earl of Gowrye and his brother were killed.

HOWARD, EARL OF NORTHAMPTON,

TO

CARRE, EARL OF SOMERSET.†

HONOURABLE AND WORTHY LORD,

IF the plain dealing both of my physician and surgeon did not assure me of the few days I have to live, I should yet have deferred the putting of these poor suits into your hands, lest I might be thought still rather to value your greatness than your goodness.

But, noble Lord, let me be beholden at my last farewell for such poor toys as do rather ease my mind than pinch any man.

I humbly beseech your Lordship to stay, with all the power you can, the conferring of the office of the Cinque-Ports, either upon Pembroke or upon Lisle; for as they hated me, so they will plague my people and those whom I loved.

Sir Robert Brett, at his coming to the place of Lieutenant, was content to depart with a plot of ground, for enlargement of my garden, which

† Communicated by the reverend Mr. Michael Lort, Greek Professor in the University of Cambridge. The reader, who remembers the fate of Sir Thomas Overbury, will be shocked at the solemn averment of Northampton in his last moments, that "he did love the Earl of Somerset " for *his virtues*, and not court him for his fortune."

could have been bought of him for no money. My very conscience is pressed in this point, and therefore cannot satisfy myself till I have put my earnest suit into the hand of my dearest Lord, to take care that his Majesty admit no warden before he has given his word to him not to remove the poor distressed gentleman out of his Lieutenancy.

If I dye before midsummer, the farms of the Irish customs are not to pay me, tho' it be but one day before, which were a great wound to my fortune. No man can help this inconvenience better than your Lordship, by obtaining a privy seal that my executors may be paid, if it come to that hard strait of a day or two.

Affurance from your Lordship, that you will effect those final requests, shall send my spirit out of this transitory tabernacle with as much comfort and content as the bird flies to the mountain.

Dear Lord, my spirits spend and my strength decays, all that remains, is, with my dying hand, to witness what my living heart did vow, when it gave itself to your Lordship, as to the choice friend whom I did love for his virtues, and not court for his fortune.

Farewel, noble Lord; and the last farewel in the last letter that ever I look to write to any man. I presume confidently of your favour in these poor suits, and will be, both living and dying, your affectionate friend and servant,

H. NORTHAMPTON.

Tuesday at 2.

F I N I S.



